

EARLY  
DUTCH AND ENGLISH VOYAGES

TO

SPITSBERGEN

IN

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

INCLUDING

HESSEL GERRITSZ. "HISTOIRE DU PAYS NOMMÉ  
SPITSBERGHE," 1613,

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, FOR THE FIRST TIME,

BY BASIL H. SOULSBY, F.S.A., OF THE

BRITISH MUSEUM.

AND

JACOB SEGERSZ. VAN DER BRUGGE "JOURNAEL OF  
DAGH REGISTER," *AMSTERDAM*, 1634;

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, FOR THE FIRST TIME,

BY J. A. J. DE VILLIERS, OF THE

BRITISH MUSEUM.

ETC., ETC.

Edited, with Introductions and Notes, by

SIR W. MARTIN CONWAY, F.S.A.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

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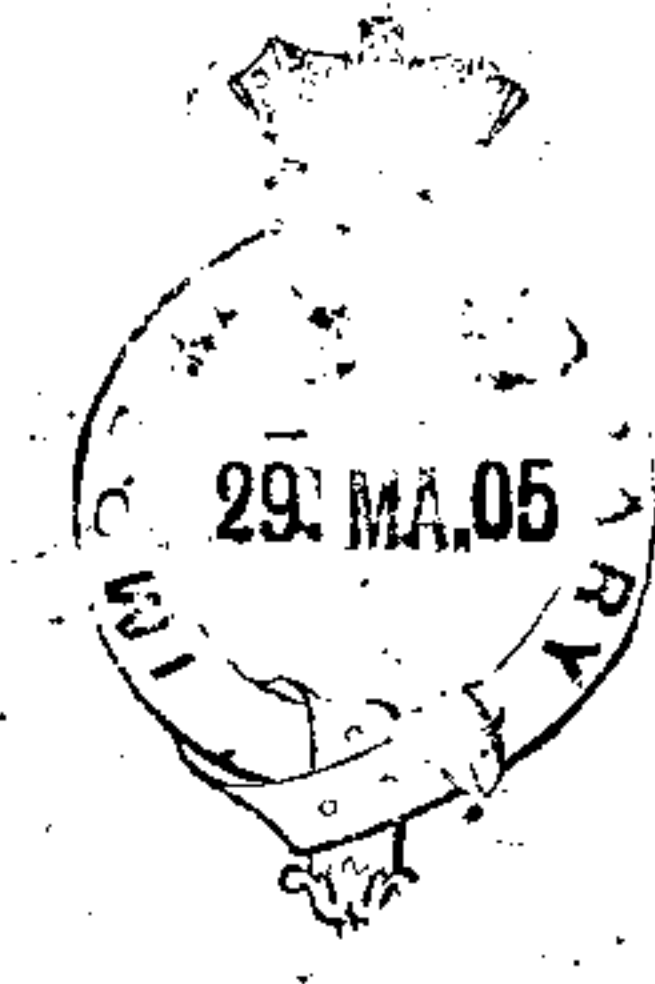
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- 1732. *An Account of that Country commonly call'd Spitsbergen, being reckon'd a part of Greenland. With the manner of its first discovery, and what method is used in catching the Whales on that coast. (In "An Account of a most dangerous Voyage performed by the famous Captain John Monck . . . 1619 and 1620, etc.")* In J. and A. Churchill's "Collection of Voyages." vol. 1. pp. 509-514. 1732. fol. [566. k. 6-11.—2058. e.—G. 6850—5.]
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- Tiele** (Pieter Anton).—*Mémoire Bibliographique sur les Journaux des Navigateurs Néerlandais réimprimés dans les collections de De Bry et de*



Hulsius, et dans les Collections Hollandaises du XVII<sup>e</sup>. siècle, et sur les anciennes éditions hollandaises des Journaux de Navigateurs Etrangers; la plupart en le possession de Frederik Muller, à Amsterdam. . . . Avec tables des voyages, des éditions et des matières. pp. 372. *F. Muller: Amsterdam, 1867.* 8°. [BB. I. d. 6.—11907. g. 11.]

**Twee Journalen.**

See Jacobsz. (Outgert).

See also Segersz. (Jacob) van Brugge.

**Veer** (Gerrit de).—Waerachtige Beschryvinghe van drie Seylagien ter werelt noyt soo v eemt ghehoort drie jaeren achter malcanderen deur de Hollandtsche ende Zeelandtsche schepen by noorden Noorweghen, Moscovia . . . Nova Sembla, en van't landt op de 80 grade dat men acht Groenlandt tezyn daer noyt mensch gheweest is, etc. [With coloured plates.] ff. 61. *Cornelis Claesz: Amstelredam, 1598.* obl. fol. [566. f. 13. (2.)]

—A True Description of Three Voyages by the North-East towards Cathay and China, undertaken by the Dutch . . . 1594, 1595, and 1596 . . . Published at Amsterdam . . . 1598, and in 1609 translated into English by William Phillip. Edited by Charles T. Beke. Maps and Illus. pp. cxlii. 291. (Ser. I., vol. 13.) *Hakluyt Society: London, 1853.* 8°. [Ac. 6172/12.]

—The Three Voyages of William Barents to the Arctic Regions, in 1594, 1595, and 1596. By Gerrit de Veer. Edited with an introduction by Lieut. Koolemans Beynen, of the Royal Netherlands Navy. Second edition. pp. clxxiv. 289. 2 Maps. 12 Illus. (First Series, vol. 54.) *Hakluyt Society: London, 1876.* 8°. [Ac. 6176/48.]

**Wassenaer** (Nicolaas van).—Historisch Verhael alder ghedenckweerdichste geschiedenis, die hier en daer in Europa, als in Duijtschlant, Vranckrijck, Enghelant, Spaengien, Hungarijen, Polen, Seven-berghen, Wallachien, Moldavien, Turckijen en Nederlant, van den beginne des jaers 1621: tot den Herstt tse, voorgevallen syn. 21 deel. *Bij Jan Evertsz. Kloppenburgh: tot Amstelredam, 1622-1635.* 4°. [9073. b. 4.]

**White** (Adam) of the British Museum.—A Collection of Documents on Spitzbergen and Greenland, comprising a translation from F. Martens' Voyage to Spitzbergen, 1671; a translation from Isaac de La Peyrère's Histoire du Groenland, 1647, and God's Power and Providence in the Preservation of Eight Men in Greenland Nine Moneths and Twelve Dayes, 1630. Edited by Adam White, of the British Museum. 2 Maps. pp. xvi. 288. (First Series, vol. 18.) *Hakluyt Society: London, 1856.* 8°. [Ac. 6172/16.]

**Zegersz.** (Jakob) van Brugge.

See Segersz. (Jacob).

**Zorgdrager** (Cornelius Gisbert).—C. G. Zorgdrager's Bloeyende Opkomst der Aloude en Hedendaagsche Groenlandsche Visschery . . . Uitgebreid met eene Korte Historische Beschryving der Noordere Gewesten, vóornamentlyk Groenlandt Yslandt, Spitsbergen, Nova Zembla, Jan Mayen Eilandt, de Straat Davis, en al 't aanmerklykste in d' Ontdekking deezer Landen, en in de Visschery voorgevallen. Met byvoeging van de Walvischvangst . . . door Abraham Moubach. Verciert met naaukeurige correcte en mair 't leven geteekende nieuwe Kaarten en Kunstige Printverbeeldingen. pp. 330. 5 maps. 3 illus. *By Joannes Oosterwyk: Amsterdam, 1720.* 4°. [462. c. 6.—572. c. 30.—German edition. 1720. 572. f. 14.—Dutch edition. 1727. 572. f. 15.—1750. 572. c. 31.]

## APPENDIX.

### NOTE ON THOMAS EDGE (See p. 56),

By SIR JOHN EDGE, K.C., Member of Council of India,  
etc., etc.

Thomas Edge, younger son of Ellis Edge, of the parish of Blackburn, co. Lancaster, by his first wife, mentioned in his father's will,

Bequeathed £5 to the "churchwardens of the parish of Blackburn in Lancashire, where I was born," [Will of Thomas Edge, then of London, merchant, dated 17th Dec., 1624; proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 30th Dec., 1624.]

For references to his Voyages, see—

"England and Russia" (Hamel's Voyages) by Dr. Joseph von Hamel, translated by J. S. Leigh, *Lond.*, 1854, pp. 307, 308, 310, 337, 338. [British Museum, 10290. d. 7.]

Dr. John Harris' "Compleat Collection of Voyages," vol. 1, pp. 572-574, 589, 590. *London*, 1705. (Brit. Mus. 566. l. 1, 2.)

Samuel Purchas' "Hakluytus Posthumus," vol. 3, pp. 462, 534, 709, 731, 732. *London*, 1625. [Brit. Mus. G. 6840.]

"A Brief Narrative of Discoveries in the Northern Seas." [Brit. Mus. *Add. MS.* 14027, fo. 172.]

Petition of English Merchants concerning the supporting of the Trade to Russia in the Whale Fishing in the Northern Seas. [Brit. Mus. *Lansdowne MS.* 142, fol. 404-417.]

Thomas Edge married Bridget, daughter of Richard Poyntell, of the parish of St. Botolph, Billingsgate, at the church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, on 31 January, 1613-14. In the Register her name is written "Bridget Wintell." Marriage License granted London, 26 January, 1613-14, for the marriage of Thomas Edge, of St. Botolph, Billingsgate, and Bridget Poyntell, spinster, daughter of Richard Poyntell, of St. Botolph. Poyntell was the name: Thomas Edge, in his will, mentions his brother-in-law, Edmond Poyntell.

Thomas Edge's father-in-law was probably the Richard Poyntell to whose mother Queen Elizabeth, on 31 Dec., 1600, granted for 15 years the privilege of trading with the East Indies. [See "Harris' Voyages," vol. 1. p. 57.]

On 5 Oct., 1621, Wm. Camden, Clarencieux, granted to Thomas Edge for his crest, "a demy-morse, or a sea-lion proper, a creature celebrated for great courage and pre-eminence in histories, and confirmed by the experience of such as have been employed in this action to be one of the most remarkable creatures observed in those northern seas." [Brit. Mus. *Stow MS.*, 677, fo. 36.]

On 22 November, 1623, Thomas Edge, of the city of London, merchant, purchased the manor of Bulsnape. [Public Record Office. Close Roll, 21 James I, Part 18.] Bulsnape is in the parish of Kirkham, Lancashire.

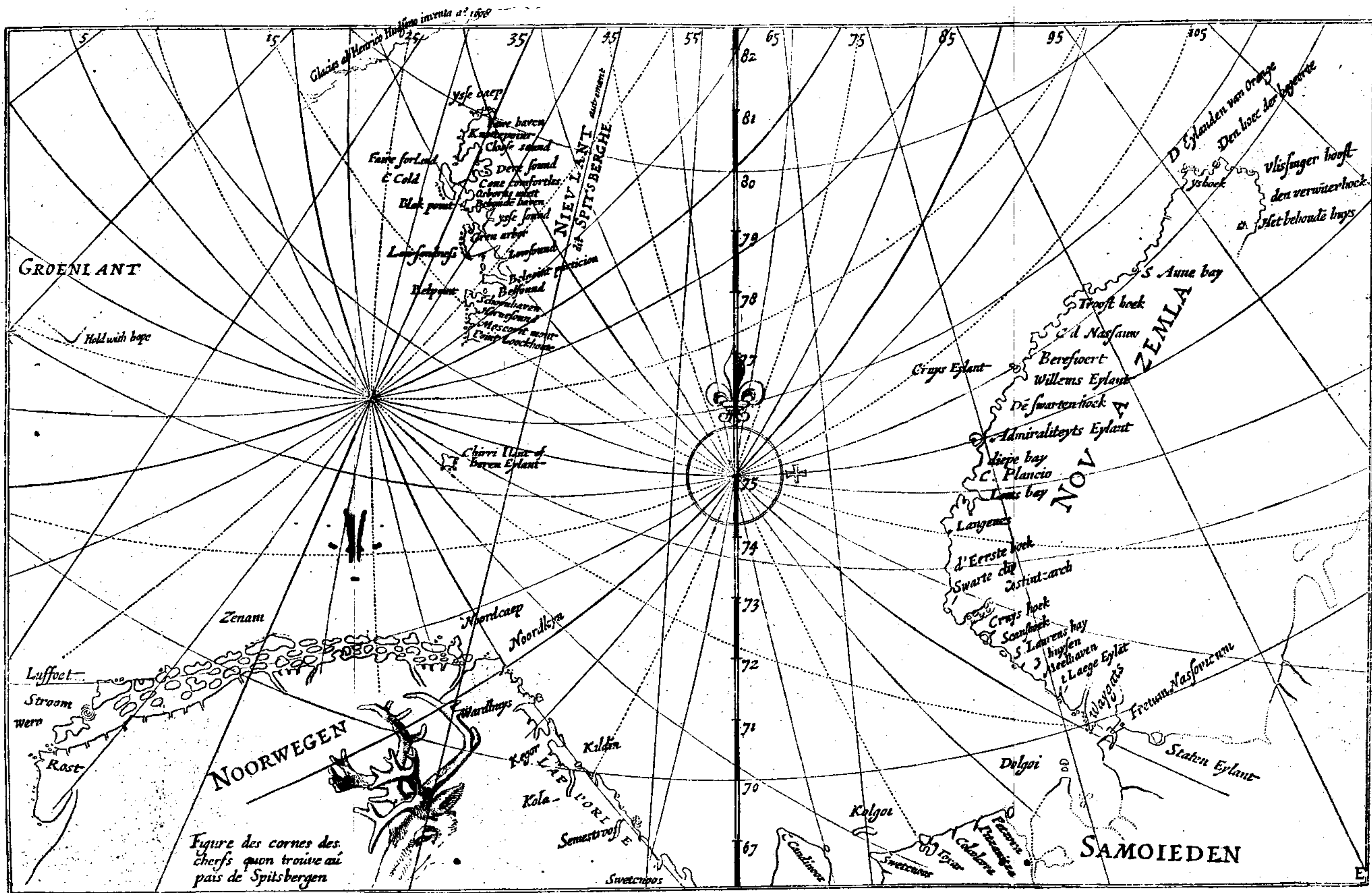
On 8 August, 1624, Thomas Edge, of London, merchant, purchased the manor of Little Hoole, co. Lancaster. [Close Roll, 22 James I, Part 19.]

Thomas Edge died on 29 Decr., 1624. In his will he directed that he should be buried within the parish church of St. Botolph, Billingsgate.

The Inquisition *post mortem* of Thomas Edge was taken at Chorley, co. Lancaster, on 21 January, 1624-5. [See "Record Society, Lancashire and Cheshire." Publications. vol. 17. Lanc. Inquisitions, 1888. pp. 460, 1. Brit. Mus. Ac. 8121.]

He left surviving him his wife Bridget, who was then with child; his sons Richard and George, and daughters Bridget and Ellen. His widow married Daniel Shattenden, of Eltham, Kent, and was living on 3 Feb., 1649. His son Richard Edge married twice, and had, with daughters, four sons—Richard, Thomas, Jacob, and Joseph, all of whom (the sons) died without issue.





Reproduced for the Hakluyt Society by Donald Macbeth.

MAP OF SPITZBERGEN, from "HISTOIRE DE SPITZBERGHE, Par H.G.A., 1613."





INTRODUCTION  
TO  
HESSEL GERRITSZ.

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IN the year 1596, Spitsbergen was discovered by two Dutch vessels, as described in the following pamphlet. A more minute account of the voyage was published by G. de Veer, and a translation of it was issued by the Hakluyt Society, in 1876, in *Three Voyages by William Barents*. Other authorities on the same voyage will be found printed and analysed in S. Muller's *Geschiedenis der Noordsche Compagnie* (Utrecht, 1874). The accounts are rather obscure, and the following brief *resumé* of that part of the voyage which concerns Spitsbergen may be worth insertion:—

“June 13. They sailed from Bear Island northwards, and kept to the W. and out of sight of Spitsbergen till they were N. of it. They then sailed E. out of sight of, but approximately parallel to, the N. coast, till

“June 17. Being in Lat.  $80^{\circ} 10'$  N., and steering S.S.E., they sighted the N. coast, which was visible from about the mouth of Wiche (Liefde) Bay to Hakluyt Headland.

They sailed W. along the land, and anchored near Cloven Cliff and elsewhere. They explored Fairhaven.

"June 23. Rounded Hakluyt Headland, observed the W. coast trending S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., and returned to their anchorage.

"June 24. Sailed southward.

"June 25. Anchored in Magdalena Bay.

"June 26. Sailed into the N. end of Foreland Sound, and were turned back by the bar.

"June 28. Sailed S. along the Foreland, and past the mouth of Ice Sound and Bell Sound.

"June 29. Continued S. along the land till the ice forced them out to sea.

"July 1. Sighted Bear Island again."<sup>1</sup>

Spitsbergen was next visited in 1607 by Henry Hudson, who was exploring on behalf of the Muscovy Company of London. A very obscure account of his voyage was printed by Purchas (vol. iii, p. 567), and reprinted by the Hakluyt Society in 1860, in the volume *Henry Hudson the Navigator*, edited by G. M. Asher.<sup>2</sup>

Hudson really made no new discovery, except of certain bays, but his observation of the great number of whales frequenting the Spitsbergen seas led the Muscovy Company to start the whaling industry there.

Accordingly, in 1610, they sent up a ship of 70 tons, under the command of Jonas Poole; Purchas (vol. iii, p. 699) published the account of their voyage. They examined the western bays, and anchored for a time at Cross Road in the modern Cross Bay, where they killed walruses. They were not fitted out for whaling. In 1611, however, Jonas Poole and Thomas Edge were again sent

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<sup>1</sup> See my article "How Spitsbergen was Discovered," in the *Geographical Journal* for February, 1903, for further details.

<sup>2</sup> On this voyage, see my article in the *Geographical Journal* for February, 1900.

to Spitsbergen, this time with a full whaling equipment and a number of expert Basque whalers.<sup>1</sup> They made "Whale Bay" their headquarters. This was a general name for the group of bays now known as the north end of Foreland Sound, King's Bay, and Cross Bay. Ultimately they set up their huts and coppers on the shores E. and W. of the N. end of Foreland Sound, their chief station being Cove Comfortless, now known as English Bay. The expedition was a failure, and had to be rescued by a Hull interloper named Thomas Marmaduke, who, with Nicholas Woodcock as pilot, was hunting walrus there in the *Hopewell*.

In 1612, the Muscovy Company again sent forth Poole and Edge, as well as Master John Russel, with two larger ships. Purchas published an account of the voyage. This year the Muscovy Company's ships did not have the fishery to themselves. Edge (in Purchas) writes: "The Hollanders (to keep their wont in following of the English steps) came to Greenland [*i.e.*, Spitsbergen] with one ship, being brought thither by an Englishman, and not out of any knowledge of their owne discoveries, but by the direction of one Allen Sallowes, a man imployed by the Muscovia Companie in the Northerne Seas for the space of twentie yeeres before; who leaving his country for debt, was entertayned by the Hollanders, and imployed by them to bring them to Greenland for their Pylot. At which time being met withall by the Companies Ships, they were commanded to depart, and forbidden to haunt, or frequent those parts any more, by mee Thomas Edge. There was also a Spanish ship from San Sebastian, brought thither by one Nicholas Woodcocke this yeare, a man formerly employed by the said Companie; which Spanish ship made a full voyage in Green harbour. But Woodecocke at his

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<sup>1</sup> See Purchas, vol. iii, p. 710.

returne into England, being complained of by the Company, was imprisoned in the Gatehouse and Tower, sixteene moneths, for carrying the Spanish ship thither."

The report of the successful voyage of this Biscay ship is said to have been the cause of the great inroad of foreign interlopers into Spitsbergen waters in 1613.

The captain of the Dutch ship was Willem van Muijden, or Muijen, after whom the little bay (called by the English Bottle Cove), just outside Axel Island, in the N. coast of Bell Sound, takes its name. It is characteristic of the blundering in modern Spitsbergen nomenclature that this name, misspelt Van Mijen, should have been removed from its proper place and transferred to the large northern branch of Bell Sound, whose proper name is Low Sound. The supercargo of the Dutch ship was one Kijn. He tried to climb a high hill on Charles Foreland, but missed his footing, fell, and broke his neck. The south cape of the Foreland was named Kijnaes after him by the Dutch, and the Foreland itself Kyn Island.

After the Dutch had been sent away by the English, they attempted some exploration to the northward, as appears from a statement in the *Coorte Deductie* of the Noordsche Company of 1624. An earlier, and obviously false, account claims that they sailed beyond 83° N., and found an open sea bordered by grassy lands.<sup>1</sup>

Beside the foreigners, there were also two English interlopers, regarded by the Muscovy Company's men with almost equal hostility. They were the *Diana*, of London, "whereof one Thomas Bastion, dwelling at Wapping Wall, was master," and the *Hoperwell*, of Hull, again commanded by Thomas Marmaduke. Poole met both these vessels in Foreland Sound. Early in June, Marmaduke sailed away northward. He carried off the post and arms set up by

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<sup>1</sup> S. Muller, *Noordsche Co.*, pp. 166, 167, 393.

Willem Barentsz. at Fairhaven, and he explored "as far as 82°, two degrees beyond Hakluyt's Headland," according to Poole. Of this exploration, we only know that Marmaduke visited Red Beech, and that Lawrence Prestwood, one of his men, landed at Grey Hook on August 17th, and set up a cross, with his name and the date, which cross Fotherby saw in 1614. This was probably the limit of the voyage.

During the winter of 1612-1613, great preparations were made, both in England and abroad, for the exploitation of the new whale fishery. The Muscovy Company, determined, if possible, to secure a monopoly of it, obtained a charter from King James I, giving them all they desired, and excluding from the fisheries all other persons whatsoever, whether English or aliens.<sup>1</sup> Six different accounts of the fishery in the summer of 1613 have come down, enabling us to follow the doings of almost every day. Purchas prints a brief note by Thomas Edge, and a longer journal by William Baffin. Immediately after the return of the fleet, Hessel Gerritsz., the Amsterdam geographer, published the important, and now very rare, pamphlet in French, here translated, recounting the whalers' ill-treatment by the Company's servants.<sup>2</sup> But the most picturesque account is one existing in MS. in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society, written (there seems little doubt) by Robert Fotherby.<sup>3</sup> There exists besides, in the British Museum, a MS. entitled "A briefe Narration of the Discoverie of the Northerne Seas and the Coasts and Countries of those parts as it was first

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<sup>1</sup> Record Office, *Sign Man.*, vol. xiii, No. 10; *Grant Book*, pp. 117, 128 (30th March, 1613).

<sup>2</sup> *Histoire du Pays nommé Spitsberghe*, etc. Amsterdam, 1613. 4to.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in the *Transactions and Collections of the American Archaeological Society*, vol. iv (1860), p. 285, and reprinted by the

begunn and continewd by the singular Industrie and charge of the Company of Muscovie Merchants of London."<sup>1</sup> This contains an account of the events of 1613 in Spitsbergen, whilst a similar relation from the Dutch point of view is in the *Coorte Deductie end Remonstrantie* of 1624, printed by Muller.<sup>2</sup>

The English fleet consisted of seven vessels, under the command of Benjamin Joseph, "a man very sufficient and worthy of his place." With him were associated Thomas Marmaduke (the Hull interloper of the previous year), William Baffin, Robert Fotherby, Thomas Edge, and other officers. The ships were the *Tiger* (260 tons), which was the Admiral, and carried 21 guns ;<sup>3</sup> the *Matthew* (250 tons), Vice-Admiral ; the *Gamaliel*, or *Sea-horse* (200 tons), Rear-Admiral ; the *Desire* (180 tons), the *Annula* (140 tons), the *Richard and Barnard* (60 tons), and the *John and Francis* (180 tons). Joseph and Baffin were on board the *Tiger*, Fotherby on the *Matthew*. The *Richard and Barnard* was intended for discovery, the *Tiger* for protection ; all the others were for the whale fishery. Four and twenty expert Basque whalers accompanied these vessels.

Fortified by the arguments of Grotius, in his newly-published work *Mare Liberum*, and stimulated by the information acquired during the previous season by the skipper Willem van Muijden, the Dutch adventurers were no whit behindhand with their preparations. The merchants of Amsterdam fitted out two ships for Van Muijden, and hired twelve Basques to serve under him, whereof three were harpooners, three whale-boat captains,

<sup>1</sup> *Add.* 14027, f. 172, and a modern copy *Add.* 33837, f. 70.

<sup>2</sup> *N. Co.*, p. 394. See also the "Request" of the Amsterdam Adventurers to the States General, printed in Wassenaer, vol. viii, f. 88.

<sup>3</sup> The Spanish writer Madoz (vol. ix, p. 163) says that two of the English ships were armed.



the remainder experts at flensing whales and boiling down blubber. Saardam sent two ships to hunt walrus. Enkhuizen sent a ship with the Englishman, Thomas Bonner,<sup>1</sup> for master and pilot, and twenty English seamen in the crew. Saardam despatched two sloops for walrus hunting only; whilst Dunkerque hired two Dutch vessels, the larger commanded by one Fopp, the smaller, a "pincke" or pinnace,<sup>2</sup> of Horne, with Claas Martin for master. Van Muijden was provided with "a Commission granted by the Grave Maurice for to fish in" Spitsbergen: an offset against the Muscovy Company's Charter from King James. Nor were these all the interlopers of the year. According to Edge there were four English vessels; perhaps he counted in those piloted by Sallowes and Bonner. But only one interloper is recorded as actually sailing from an English port, the *Desire* of Alborough, whose master was named Fletcher, and her supercargo Cudner of London.<sup>3</sup>

Fired by accounts of the successful voyage made in 1612 by the ship of San Sebastian, the ports of the Bay of Biscay, old centres of the whale fishery, likewise prepared to claim a share in the new trade. From San Sebastian itself went forth eight vessels, one of them the ship that Woodcock had piloted up the previous year. St. Jean de Luz fitted out a great ship of from 700 to 800 tons, a smaller ship, and a pinnace. Bordeaux sent the *Jacques*, 200 tons, with the absconding bankrupt, Allen Sallowes, for Pilot.<sup>4</sup> La Rochelle was represented by a ship belonging to Hoorn, hired on behalf of the merchant, Jean

<sup>1</sup> Gerritsz. calls him Bonaert, and Bonnard.

<sup>2</sup> A pinnace was a long, light, narrow vessel, with a crew of about twenty-five men. Père Fournier believes this type of vessel to have been of Biscay origin.

<sup>3</sup> The Master of the second Amsterdam ship was not Mossel, as stated in Gerritsz.' text, but corrected in an *erratum*. He was Jan Jacobsz. Vrijer.

<sup>4</sup> Gerritsz. writes the name Silly and Selly: Baffin writes it Sallas.

Macqui, and by "another small shippe." One of the St. Jean de Luz ships had permission from the Muscovy Company to fish under a royalty agreement. All the others went up to try and break down the Company's monopoly.

The English fleet sailed from Queenborough on the 13th of May, and came in sight of the southern parts of Spitsbergen on the 30th of the same month.<sup>1</sup> Proceeding northward, they spoke next day the authorised ship of St. Jean de Luz as well as Sallowes' ship. What happened to the Dutch ships is told in the pamphlet, here for the first time published in English. They suffered considerable loss, but, as we shall see, were not thereby deterred from the prosecution of the same enterprise in future years.

<sup>1</sup> So say both Baffin and Fotherby. Edge (as printed by Purchas, vol. iii, p. 466) makes them sail from Gravesend on April 26th, and reach Spitsbergen on May 14th.





HISTOIRE  
du Pays nommé  
SPITSBERGHE.

Monstrant comment qu'il est  
trouvée, son naturel & ses animaux,  
avecques.

La triste racompte des maux, que noz Pecheurs,  
tant Basques que Flamens, ont eu a souffrir des Anglois;  
en l'esté passée. l'An de grace, 1613.

ESCRIT PAR H. G. A.

Et en apres une Protestation contre les Anglois;  
& annulation de tous leurs frivoles argumens, parquoy  
ils pensent avoir droict, pour se faire Mai-  
stre tout seul, dudict Pays.

• En Amsterdam, a l'ensieigne du Carte nautiq' ; .

M. DC. XIII.

[BRITISH MUSEUM COPY, G. 2937.]

HISTOIRE  
du Pays nommé  
SPITSBERGHE.

Comme il a esté descouvert, la situation  
& de ses Animaux.

Avec le  
Discours des empeschemens que les Navires esquipés pour  
la peche des Baleines tant Basques, Hollandois, que  
Flamens ont soufferts de la part des Anglois,  
en l'Année presente 1613.

ESCRIT PAR H. G. A.

Et une Protestation contre les Anglois, & annulation  
de tous leurs frivoiz argumens, par lesquelz ils pensent  
avoir droit de se faire seuls Maistres  
dudit Pays.

A AMSTERDAM:  
Chez HESSEL GERARD A., a l'ensieigne de la Carte Nautiqz.

M.D.C.XIII.

[BRITISH MUSEUM COPY, 572. d. 2.]

HISTORY  
of the Country called  
SPITSBERGEN.

Its discovery, its situation,  
its animals.

With

An account of the annoyances which the Whalers,  
Basque, Dutch, and Flemish,  
Have endured at the hands of the English  
in the present year 1613.

WRITTEN BY H. G. A.  
[HËSSEL GERRITZZON VAN ASSUM].

Also a protest against the English, and a refutation  
of all their frivolous arguments, on which  
they base a claim to make themselves  
sole masters of the aforesaid country.

AT AMSTERDAM:

Sold by HESSEL GERARD A., at the Sign of the Chart.

M.D.C.XIII.

TRANSLATED BY BASIL HARRINGTON SOULSBY, F.S.A.,  
SUPERINTENDENT OF THE MAP DEPARTMENT, BRITISH MUSEUM.

WE beg the kindly reader to read "Jan Jacobz. Vrijer"<sup>1</sup> where we have written "Mossel"; and page 12 [our page 21], in the chapter on the Situation, line 15 [our bottom line], "Nornoroest," where the printer has put "Nornordest."

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<sup>1</sup> S. Muller, *Noordsche Compagnie*, p. 73, states, but does not say on what authority, that this skipper's name was Jan Jacobsz. Boots van Medemblik. Muller did not notice the above erratum.



## Description of the New Country, called by the Dutch Spitsbergen.



THE most northerly country known to the ancients received the name of Thule, which the majority of modern geographers identify with Iceland. The later geographers, of the time of our fathers, have described a country situated below or around the North Pole. Mercator owns to having taken it from the book of the voyages of Jacob Croyen, who, on his part, was chiefly indebted to the accounts given to the King of Norway by a priest, in the year of grace 1364. But men of our time have held the existence of this to be quite absurd. Our sailors claim to have found, on the site of Mercator's country, a large moving sea, which would take them to China and the East Indies. Their efforts might have met with success had not the cold winter surprised them, inasmuch as they passed along the north coast of Nova Zembla,  $77^{\circ}$  and  $76^{\circ}$  N., more than  $20^{\circ}$  E. in longitude, from the Straits of Weygats, without having seen any land to the north of them, but only a quantity of ice, by which they were finally surrounded, opposite to Nova Zembla; and thus they found no trace of the land below the Pole, as shown on Mercator's maps. Our task is now to describe

the northernmost land, never before explored, situated between Greenland—which belongs to the crown of Norway—and Nova Zembla, so called by the Russians, its masters, opposite the North Cape in Finmark, commonly called Northland in Norway. This land extends, according to the latest explorations of our people, from  $76^{\circ}$  to  $80^{\circ}$  latitude, counting from the equinoctial line, and in length some 60 German or 70 French leagues. It was discovered on the said voyage to China and Japan by the two ships, which were equipped and armed by the honourable citizens and councillors of the city of Amsterdam, the Admiral, appointed by His Excellency Maurice of Nassau, etc., being Jakob Hendriksz. Heemskerck, who subsequently earned undying fame in the bay before the fortress of Gibraltar. The Pilot was Willem Barentsz., who had previously made two voyages, with the same object, on behalf of the States General. Jan Cornelisz. van Rijp was Master and Commissary of the other ship. It is the latter to whom we owe the discovery of the land which we are describing. When they,—*i.e.*, the two ships aforesaid—were come to Bear Island, by the North Pole,  $74\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , Willem Barentsz. wished to steer eastwards, and Jan Cornelisz. westwards, to avoid being locked in the ice off Nova Zembla. But Barentsz. had to follow Jan Cornelisz., he being to the windward, as may be seen in the narrative of the voyage. It seems expedient, for a clear understanding of the discovery, that I should here insert a short extract from the Journal, written by Willem Barentsz. in his own hand:—

“ May 18, new style, we set sail from Texel, and arrived May 22 off Fayril [Faroe Islands], and near the Orcanesses [Orkneys].

“ June 5, we reached the ice, on its way, as we thought, from Greenland, for in our reckoning we were about 25 leagues from the said Greenland. The water was greenish, with a brown tinge. We took soundings without

touching the bottom. The ice extended all along the sea, S.E. and N.W., and was all in pieces or hummocks (*escosses*).

“On the morrow, we kept our course N.E. and N.N.E.; when 9 leagues to the N., we came to a large sheet of ice, which stopped our advance. We found no bottom at 120 fathoms, and thought we were 55 leagues from Lofoten Island, N.W., and 110 or 115 leagues from the North Cape. We then turned eastwards, and reached Bear Island on June 10,  $74^{\circ} 35''$  N., and sailing N.N.E. we reached the ice, where we cast anchor, and were forced to return to the shelter of the island. Leaving Bear Island we went E.N.E., expecting to find a better passage northwards, for those in the other ship wanted all the time to make for the west, while I was more anxious to steer east. We sailed up to the evening, keeping E.N.E. 16 leagues, from the evening to the morning, N.E. 15 leagues.

“June 14. We made up to the evening, N.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E., 22 leagues. When the weather became clear, we found ourselves near the ice. We thought we saw land to the north, but we were not certain.

“June 15. We went against the wind; sounded without finding any bottom at 150 fathoms, and rolled up to noon, S.E. and S.E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E., 5 leagues, in  $78\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$  N.

“Then we went, with the wind behind us, towards the east, 7 leagues, and then up to the evening, N.N.E., 5 leagues. We passed a large dead whale, on whom were several gulls.

“June 16. The weather was dull, the wind E. We moved along till noon, N.N.E., 21 leagues, and came to the ice. We made our way out, going N.E. some 5 leagues, and once more out of the ice S.E. 6 leagues. Then we steered once more by a course S.S.E. in the ice for 4 leagues, which was in the morning.

“June 17. The weather was calm up to noon. We were

then in  $80^{\circ} 10''$  N. We were forced to tack to get out of the ice, moving S. for 6 leagues, with the wind E., until evening, and a depth of 90 fathoms. We moved on a quarter, with the wind S.E., and went S.S.E. 4 leagues. Then we saw land, and kept on still E.S.E., the land extending E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  N.E., and E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  S.E. a good 8 or 9 leagues. The land stood high up, all covered in snow, and at a point N.W. this land extended to another point.

"June 18. S.E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E. 6 leagues, and there we were in  $80^{\circ}$  N.

"We moved against the wind along the land, with the wind E. and N.E., up to noon on the 20th. The western cape of the land was about 5 leagues S.S.E. from us. We kept on S.S.E. and S.E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  S. for 5 leagues, and came to a large bay, which extended inland southwards, and another bay with an island in front, extending due south.

"We went away from the land, and kept on till evening N.E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  N. for 2 leagues, and came once more to the ice, which forced us to make for the south.

"June 21. There was a strong wind, with snow from the S.E., and we ran with the wind till evening, when we dropped anchor close to land not far from our consort, just in front of the entrance to the channel; sandy bottom at 18 fathoms. At the eastern extremity of the opening there was a rock, split from top to bottom, and a fine landmark.<sup>1</sup> There was also an islet or rock, the third of a league from this eastern point. At the western point there was also a rock quite close.

"June 22. We took in seven boat-loads of pebbles for ballast, to trim our ship. A large bear appeared in the water near the ship, and we went after it in three boats, and killed it, its skin being 12 feet long. On the same day we went in a boat up the channel, to find a better

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<sup>1</sup> Cloven Cliff island.



harbour, which was badly wanted; and we found one further up, the land being all broken up, with some islands where the anchorage in parts was very good.

“June 23. We took our time meridian by the astronomical circle, and we found the variation to be  $11^{\circ}$  before, and  $16^{\circ}$  after, noon, the needle turning towards N.E., so that the circle was incorrect. We left the bay, to see how far the coast extended, the weather being very clear. We could not see the end of the land, which extended S.  $\frac{1}{4}$  S.E. for 7 leagues, up to a precipitous peak, which stood out like an island. At midnight we took the height of the sun,  $13^{\circ}$ , so that we were  $79^{\circ} 34''$  N.

“June 24. Before noon quite calm, wind S.E. The land along which we sailed was rugged for the most part, and steep, mostly mountains and jagged peaks, from which we gave it the name of Spitsbergen.

“We sailed S.E. and S.E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  S. for about 7 leagues, and then we were about 10 or 12 leagues from the spot where we first cast anchor, more to the east.

“In the evening we left the land once more behind us, the N.E. cape on the N.E., and we made E. and E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  N.E. for 8 leagues.

“And so to the end of the first quarter.

“We turned off E. and went S.E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  S. for 8 leagues up to noon on the 25th. Then we came near land, sailing with the wind N.N.E. for 2 leagues. We dropped anchor behind a point, with sandy bottom at 18 fathoms, and it seemed to us that there was a flood and ebb, for we found, in twelve hours' time, a current from the S.E. and another from the N.E., strong enough to break the points of our anchors below the water.

“This bay,<sup>1</sup> where we were, went right in with a cove at the end. On the S. coast there was a low point, behind

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<sup>1</sup> Afterwards called Magdalena Bay.

which one could navigate, entering near the N. coast, and lie there behind the point, sheltered from all winds. Our men found there tusks of morses, or sea-cows, which gave the bay its name of Tusk Bay. We also found there a quantity of head of deer, and some wool like sheep's wool. Just S. of the point there was a little cove, like a harbour.

"June 26. The wind was from the N. when we set sail, and we kept S.  $\frac{1}{4}$  S.E. for 10 leagues. At noon we arrived between the steep point and the mainland. We took the peak to be an island, and steered inside<sup>1</sup> S.  $\frac{1}{4}$  S.E. and S., and some way in we found a good sandy bottom at 10 to 12 fathoms. When we had gone up 2 leagues, at 50 fathoms the bottom was stony, and the land was all covered in snow. We went inwards for 5 leagues between the peak and the coast of the main land, and found that the peak, which we had taken for an island, was joined by a sand bank to the main-land, for we found the bottom at 5 fathoms. There was ice on the channel, so that we had to turn round. The peak which we mistook for an island is situated  $79^{\circ} 5''$  N., we called it Vogelhoek, as there were so many birds on and about the point.

"June 27. The sea was so calm that we were unable to advance between Vogelhoek and the main-land.

"June 28. We moved on, steering S.S.E. for 6 leagues, all along the coast, which was very steep and rugged, with a good shore. We steered S. and S.  $\frac{1}{4}$  S.E. for 6 leagues, and then S.  $\frac{1}{4}$  S.E. for 3 leagues.

"At noon we found ourselves in  $78\frac{1}{3}^{\circ}$  N., and near the ice. We steered a little to seaward, to get out of the ice, and kept along the outside and near the land S.E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  S. for 7 leagues.

"We then came into a large bay,<sup>2</sup> which extended inland towards E.N.E., and the two sides were steep and high.

<sup>1</sup> Down Foreland Sound.

<sup>2</sup> Ice Sound.

We sailed with a favouring wind N.N.E. till evening, all along the coast, S.S.E., and S.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E., for 5 leagues.

“Then there was another large bay,<sup>1</sup> with a large quantity of ice near the land. We held our course a little E.S.E., to avoid the ice, and then went ahead S.  $\frac{1}{4}$  S.E. for 4 leagues.

“We came on ice, which made us go S.E. for 3 leagues.

“June 29. North wind. We kept on a course S.E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  S. and S.S.E. for 5 leagues. Then along the land till noon, S. for 4 leagues. We found ourselves at noon  $76^{\circ} 50''$ .

“We kept on S. and S.S.E. without touching land, till we saw Bear Island on July 1.”

Now whereas Jan Cornelisz. and Willem Barentsz. had very different views as to their whereabouts, Jan Cornelisz. fancied he was N.E. of the North Cape in Norway, and Willem Barentsz. N.N.E., the latter maintaining the distance from the headland of ice in Nova Zembla to be 250 leagues, Jan Cornelisz. holding it to be only 60, and whereas Willem Barentsz. preferred to discover a known land, in order to be better able to find the Straits of Anian—the two, I say, agreed to separate, and, by a mutual arrangement, Jan Cornelisz. was to steer N.N.E., and Willem Barentsz. N.E. Thus Jan Cornelisz. again set sail for the North; and after marvellous encounters, both of ice and wind, he came on the very spot where they had cast anchor the first time, towards  $80^{\circ}$  N., having also been below Vogelhoek, which he had left with the intention of re-finding Willem Barentsz.

The east coast of this unknown land, which was thus discovered by Jan Cornelisz. Rijp and Willem Barentsz., was navigated in 1608<sup>2</sup> by Henry Hudson, on behalf of the English Company. Hudson, according to Jodocus Hondius, in his planispheric map, discovered, to the N.N.E. of this land,  $81^{\circ}$  or  $82^{\circ}$ , a firm wall of ice. From that time on, they

<sup>1</sup> Bell Sound.

<sup>2</sup> Really 1607.

were sent every summer to find whales' beards, as they are usually called, and to burn the fat. This fishery has been maintained by the Russian Trading Company, at London, up to last year, 1612, when Willem van Muijen was despatched from Amsterdam with one ship, and another from Saardam, who only went to the island called Beren Eylant, or Bear Island, to shoot or catch walruses. Besides these, last year (but not including the English) there was a ship from Biscay, and, as the Biscayans are cleverer than any other nation in the civilised world at shooting or catching whales, this ship returned with considerable profit, but ours scarcely advanced. Therefore, in this present year of grace, two ships have been fitted out under the said Willem van Muijen, and our merchants engaged twelve Basque sailors from St. Jean de Luz, three master-harpooners, three boatswains, and the remaining six for the preparation of the oil and the cutting-up of the whales. Further, a barque was sent from Amsterdam, in which was Mr. Thomas Bonaert, and a few Dutchmen, but the majority of the crew were English. There were also two barques from the town of Saardam, whose only object was to catch walruses. Besides these five ships, one was fitted out at Dunkirk, with a small barque, one from Bordeaux, one from La Rochelle, and three from St. Jean de Luz, and some Spaniards from San Sebastian. The Muscovy Company in London heard that a number of ships had been fitted out, and proceeded to do the same with six ships well mounted. Admiral, or Captain, Benjamin Joseph was on the *Tiger*, a vessel of 21 large guns, calculated to stop both navigation and fishing, in the case of all other vessels, and to drive such vessels off the coast. Although the news of this bold attempt on the part of the English reached here, as well as to Biscay, the Biscayans—who are continually moving on behalf of the King of Spain towards Western India or the West Indies, in



order to bring people to Lima—as also the French, as well as our own people, still made the passage to the country called Spitsbergen, or Greenland (the English name), with but scanty artillery or ammunition, being only fitted out for fishing, and making their way, each for himself, to some bay or harbour.

The majority of the vessels reached their fishing grounds, with their crews, and anchored, when the English came up and chased them away, one after the other.

But before we give any more details, we must describe all the harbours on this coast.

#### CONCERNING THE SITUATION OF THE SAID COUNTRY.

The knowledge, therefore, that we have recently acquired of this land called Spitsbergen we have published in the map given above; and we have, for the greater part, followed the annotations of the English, taken from a map by John Daniel, compiled in London in the year 1612.<sup>1</sup>

This land, as has been said above, lies N.N.W. of the island called Bereneylant, or Bear Island, in 81° and 76° of latitude; the greater part extending from the S., which the English call Point Lookout, N.N.W. as far as below Horn Sound; and thence towards the N., as far as the south corner of the island which the English call Prince Charles Island, and we call Kijn, after the name of one of our merchants who was killed there last year by falling from a high mountain; the coast extends mostly towards the N., that is to say, according as the ordinary compasses that are used in Holland show, and which is said to be N.N.E.,<sup>2</sup> for the sun was always in the S.S.W.

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<sup>1</sup> It is recorded in *Roe's Journal* (Hakluyt Soc. edn., vol. i, p. 3), that the East India Company's ships, in 1613, used "a platte of John Danyells making (being Mercator's projection)" for the voyage to the Cape.

<sup>2</sup> See Erratum, p. 12, above.

before being at its highest. To know this exactly, they first measured the altitude of the sun when it was at its height ; and in so far as the day of the year was known to them, they found by the tables of the sun's declination the altitude of the Equator and of the Pole above the horizon. After this, on the Astrolabium Catholicum the altitude of the sun above the horizon, both in the true E. and W. Having afterwards measured the sun at such an altitude, they saw how great was the distance that the sun was from the E. of the compass. This, then, having been measured with a compass, of which the *fleur-de-lis* corresponded exactly with the needle, they found in Schoon Haven [Fair Haven] a variation of  $16^{\circ}$  to the N.W., and by adding then as much as the needle of the compasses in common use is put or placed towards the N.E. from the aforesaid *fleur-de-lis*, it will be found that the N. must be sought further towards the E. than the compasses or quadrants show it, as is said above.

This island of Kijn, of which we have spoken above, is about 10 leagues long. At first it stretches N.N.E., as far as the centre or highest part of the country; which is a point, and thence it extends to the N. as far as the end, which the English call Fair Foreland, that is to say, the fair point. From thence along the coast, one must take a N.N.E. and N.E. route, as far as above the latitude of  $80^{\circ}$ , where Willem Barentsz. and Jan Cornelisz. Rijp first discovered the country.

Four large bays have been found there, each with divers harbours. I call the first bay,<sup>1</sup> that which lies between the N. end of the island of Kijn and the main land, which the English keep for their *rendez-vous*, or place of repair, where they put up their tents, both on the island and on the main land, and where, during the past year, 1612, they lost

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a ship. It is the same bay in which Willem Barentsz. and Jan Cornelisz. were, and which they thought went up the back or into the interior ; but they found no depth of water, and there was ice which was firmly attached to the bottom, as was discovered by the vessel from Dunkirk, according to the narrative of one of their pilots.

The second bay is the Ice Sound, or Green Harbour, which has two good ports—the one on the N. side, which our people call Behouden Haven,<sup>1</sup> and the other on the S. side, which is really the green harbour, or Groenharbor. These two ports or harbours run very far into the interior, so that one is completely shut up in them ; in the middle of the port called Behouden Haven there is a depth of quite 200 fathoms, but on the E. side there is a good depth of 22 fathoms, and in Green Harbour there are 17 or 18 fathoms on the west side. Eight leagues further to the S. is found the bay in which are the harbours of Low Sound and Bell Sound ; the north end of this bay is called Lowsoundness on the map, being at the side of some islands and rocks, just where one can enter ; therefore it is not a good port or harbour, for there is not a good bottom. The Low Sound itself is a conduit or channel that runs very far into the land, and has an island before it.<sup>2</sup>

The S. point of this large bay is called Bell Point ; a little short of the point the Dutch have found a port, which they call Schoonhaven, or Fair Haven.

On the E. side of this bay, or Schoonhaven, there is a depth of 300 fathoms, but on the W. side there is a good bottom for anchorage at 30 fathoms, and it is a good spot for killing whales, which are there in great number.

Bell Sound itself is a channel which runs far into the land ; on the N. side is an island,<sup>2</sup> which can be passed on two sides ; opposite this island there is a creek in the land.

It is a good spot for getting sea-horses, or walruses, which are there in large numbers. Our people have been 6 leagues up this channel, where they found quantities of seals in sweet water.

The Basques of S. Jean de Luz have called this bay of Bell Sound the bay of the French, because that nation was in a majority there; just as they called the other bays according to the nation that they found there.

The bay, which has been navigated by our people, and which lies more to the S., is Horn Sound, thus named by the English because they found there (as they relate) a sea unicorn. It is a very good harbour, with two arms running far into the land.

In these bays and along the coast there is also ebb and tide, as in other places of the North Sea. The tide comes from the S., for when the sun was in the S.S.W., there was high tide at Bell Sound or Schoonhaven; and in the N., in the Behouden Haven, there was high tide with the sun in the .N.N.W., there being a difference of nine hours in time that the tide comes later in Behouden Haven than in Bell Sound, they being distant the one from the other about 20 German leagues.

#### CONCERNING THE NATURE OF THE COUNTRY.

The first consideration that may be taken of this country is the part of the heavens under which it is situated, and how the lights of the firmament illumine it.

It is situated in the Arctic Zone; the Ancients (not without good reason) regarded it as being quite uninhabitable on account of the intense cold, of which this country has a greater share than any other. For, although there is no country in which there is less night or darkness in the sky, inasmuch as the sun in summer, after the long day of one hundred and seventy times twenty-four hours that it



the light is not at all absent from the heavens during the half year of summer; and except that in the half year of winter there are two whole months when the sun makes in the S. days twelve hours, and also one hour only in length,<sup>1</sup> and the sun, entering the signs of Scorpion, Sagittarius, Capricornus, and Aquarius, in the time of the long night, still illumines the southern heavens even when he is lowest in the S. at  $12\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  near the horizon; for, according to the sayings of Ptolomeus and others, we can see the dawn of day when the sun is still  $18^{\circ}$  below the horizon.

Yet, nevertheless, there is not in any country, of all those situated N. of the equinoctial line, less heat or a shorter summer. For, up to the 13th of June, the ice was this year still so firm along the coast and at the mouths of the ports that the ships could not enter; and the snow (which in some parts never melts) had by then melted in so few places that the stags or deer could find no nourishment, and were as lean as sticks. The cause of this much too long winter and long cold is, that the sun from the time of the equinox, when it is in the S. at an altitude of  $11\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  until the 10th or 12th of June, only rises to  $33^{\circ} 40'$  above the horizon, and its rays, which on that account it throws slantwise and almost along the ground, have such difficulty in warming the soil, that even the mist and vapour that rise from the earth cannot be driven away, and thus remain on the mountains and on the sea, to such a degree that the sailors cannot sometimes see a vessel's length behind them; it is for this reason that this country (which until the present day is unknown except along the sea-coast, where one sees only high snow-covered mountains and no meadows) has neither trees, shrubs, nor other fruits; and that one sees there no other verdure except short

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<sup>1</sup> The original reads; "sauf qu'il y a le demy an de l'hyver deux mois entiers, que le Soleil faict au Su: Jours de longueur de 12. heures, & aussi d'une heure seulement."

thick moss, similar to what one sees in several parts of Norway, being yellowish, with great quantities of blue flowers ; nevertheless, the sailors say that they have seen some green grass there. But as for the timber that is found on the coasts, one cannot ascertain whence it comes, unless, since the tide comes from the S., it be not strange, to think it comes from Norway.

### CONCERNING THE ANIMALS.

The animals that are seen there are white bears larger than oxen, which also take very well to the water ; and also stags or deer similar to those which are in the countries of the Russians and Samoides, near Nova Zembla, and which feed on the moss which has been spoken of above. They have hairy horns, and are a little smaller than our deer. During the time that our ships were on the coast (which was less than a month), they had become so fat that it was a pleasure to eat them. These deer were so little accustomed to men, and were so little afraid of them, that it happened that a man firing a musket-ball at a deer was observed to do so by the animal, which ran against the man with such force that it knocked him down.

Small animals have not come there, except white and grey foxes, and also some black ones.

This is all that we have seen respecting the animals that have been found on land, except that we have still to speak of the unicorn horns which the English found in the Horn Sound. Of these we can say nothing else except that those who have knowledge of them say that they are real unicorn horns, one of which was brought to this country last summer by one of our mariners. But it is not known for certain from which animals they come. And we shall speak, moreover, of the fish found at the entrance of the

At the mouth of the ports and harbours are found large whales of several kinds, the majority of which are more than 80 feet in length, and are all very fat : so much so that the blubber which comes from them can almost entirely be boiled into fat or oil, which we call "traen ;" and there is a kind of whale, like the greater part that are found here, which have no fins on their back by which they may be known ; they have inside their mouth large, long wattles, which are like files, and the large ones have them an arm or two in length, and so set that six hundred are drawn from one snout. These hang out of the upper portion of the mouth in the shape of a comb, and they have them in the place where the other fishes have their teeth, but only in the upper jaw ; the foremost and hindermost are very small, so that only four hundred can be counted as marketable wares, and these now form some of the best and most profitable merchandise that is found on this coast. The said whales have at the side, near the head, large fins, behind which they are shot at with harpoons, because in that spot they feel the wound most acutely ; having felt which, and the blood entering their head, they blow the water and blood as high as the tops of the masts out of the nostrils which they have on their head. And after they have plunged to the bottom and have tired themselves with swimming, the boats approach and shoot at them with darts in the hollow they have on their head ; for in no other wise can they be easily killed.

These fish have a thick black skin, covered with another tender, shiny, black skin. The food of these whales consists of small fish, smaller than prawns, which they catch by swimming with open jaws, and swallow by closing their snout.

Beside these black whales there are also white ones, but they are not considered good ; *emperadors* and a few haddocks have also been found there.

There are quantities of sea-fowl, especially gulls, which descend in large numbers upon the carcasses of the whales. There are two kinds of plungeons, parrots, or "lommés," which are sea-birds with red bills, and which Willem Barentsz. also found in Nova Zembla; goslings and ducks, which lay very large eggs; and a large number of Red geese, which were formerly believed to grow on the trees in Ireland.

A little further inland we find sea-horses, as the English call them, sea-cows, as the French say, and sea-elephants, as we could say, for they resemble these almost in size of body, and on account of the great teeth that they have in their mouth. They are called *morsen* by the Russians, who have the best knowledge of them, because they have them in abundance on their coast of Petchora, and we have called them up to now walruses; their shape, which I have appended hereunto, I have myself drawn from life from a young one brought here.

They have much fat from which to make grease, but the skin, although it is enormously thick, and has been found to weigh here 400 lb., is worth very little, because it is too full of blisters. But the teeth are worth all the more, being estimated of greater value than ivory. When the animals see one of their species killed, they get in such numbers upon the carcass that they cause it to decompose and spoil.

This is what we know of the salt water. But up above, in the fresh water, 5 leagues inland, in the port of Bell Sound, our men found seals of the same sort as our *robbes*. This is the furthest inland knowledge that we have been able to find of the country and of its animals. And now we will relate what took place this summer, both between our people and the French and English.

The one who was the first of all to arrive on this coast

close to the S. point (called by the English Lookout) on May 27th. But he could not get to the land anywhere, inasmuch as the ice was still against the coast, and he pursued his course northwards until June 1st, when he arrived at Kijn Island. On June 2nd the master of the vessel set sail with two boats towards the land, and found a dead whale at the S. end of the island. On June 4th they found another fish at the N. end; he kept constantly below the island, going and coming, inasmuch as the harbours were still full of ice.

On June 8th, they saw the ship from Bordeaux, of which Master Selly was the pilot. On the 9th, the boat from Dunkirk, with the pinnace, came near them, at the S. point of the island. And inasmuch as they afterwards approached close to Mossel's<sup>1</sup> ship, that is to say Muijden's other ship, which was a little more northward, below the island, it seems that they of Dunkirk took a survey of the port, returning, however, with Mossel towards the land; and it seems that they wished to pass between the island and the main land, but they left immediately, stopping in the neighbourhood, and on the 12th and 13th they proceeded into Green Harbour, that is to say the one vessel.

Muijden arrived in Behoudenhaven the 13th, having shortly before sent his boats to the whale at the northern point of the island, where they found the boats of the English cutting the wattles of that whale. From these our men heard that the Dunkirk pinnace had been taken by them, and that the men of Dunkirk had declared that the said whale had been found by our people. These Dunkirk men had gone away on the English vessels, and been taken to the N. point, to English Bay, and our boats returned to their vessel on the 15th, giving warning that the said English had proposed to take all the foreign vessels.

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<sup>1</sup> See Erratum, p. 12, above.



Now, after the English had given orders to their fishery, in Fair Foreland, where they still had their huts of the year before, they arrived in Green Harbour on June 16th, and drove away thence the Dunkirk vessel, and another small vessel from Biscay; the said Biscayans, being very displeased, swore that on their return to their country they would indemnify themselves with the property of the English. On the morrow, the Admiral set sail as far as the N. coast of the channel, where in a safe port he found Muijden with his two vessels, Master Selly of Bordeaux, another from La Rochelle, and a small vessel from St. Jean de Luz. The masters of the ships had themselves taken on board the Admiral, and the small vessel from St. Jean de Luz was sent back to its country.

Selly told Muijden that he had obtained the Admiral's permission to take eight whales for the English, and that the rest would be for himself. But when he had taken four more, and thought these were for himself, the English took the lot, even the clothes of the sailors, and beat them into the bargain. Muijden showed the Admiral His Excellency's commission, which stated that he was at liberty to fish, and to defend himself against all who wished to harm him. The Admiral read it, kissed it, and admitted its genuineness, but said that he was obliged to execute the charge he had from his King, which was still greater, and which gave him and his principals the right to hold for His Majesty, and for their enjoyment, all countries and lands already discovered, and which still might be discovered, comprised within a line running from the N.W., and one from the N.E., drawn with a compass placed upon their map midway between Trondhjem and Iceland. Unwilling, however, to permit the said Muijden to fish there or in any other spot in these said parts, he took away from him all that he had already fished, and sent him back on June 19th—to wit, the two

vessels belonging to Muijden and a vessel from Hoorn, which had come from La Rochelle for Jean Macqui. These Frenchmen said that they wished to set sail with their vessel towards the North Cape of Norway, thinking that they might find plenty of whales there. Muijden, however, although the English Admiral had been unwilling to permit him to fish in any other spot, and had forbidden him to do so, set sail for Bell Sound, where he arrived June 20th, being first on the N. coast, but not in a good place. On the 23rd, he found a vessel from Saardam, on the S. coast, in a good port, and passed the bay, which is about 3 leagues across. On the 24th, he reached a small port, which is in Bell Point, where he found a very convenient spot for fishing.<sup>1</sup>

Those of Saardam, above-mentioned, were a little further inland,<sup>2</sup> and killed in one day quite 200 morses, or sea-cows, and (from fear of the English) sent one of their two ships laden with walrus fat, placed in barrels, to their country.

On the 26th, the big vessel from St. Jean de Luz arrived near Muijden, at Beauport,<sup>1</sup> the said Muijden having so styled the little port. Willem van Muijden wished to forbid him to fish, but they agreed that they should fish together, and warn off and drive away any others that might come there, as they did on the 11th of July the boats of a vessel from Biscay, which was in Bell Sound, behind the island (Axel Island), being obliged to do this inasmuch as the boats placed themselves immediately before their harbour. Afterwards, there also came near them another small vessel from St. Jean de Luz, not belonging to the company of Monsieur Turbyde; this they also forbade to fish. Meanwhile, the English came to take them, and all that

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<sup>1</sup> This was Schoonhoven, the modern Recherche Bay.

<sup>2</sup> They were in the bay always called Saardammer Bay by the old whalers, but now wrongly named Van Keulen Bay.



had been fished, to the harbour of Bell Sound. The boat belonging to Monsieur de Turbide's vessel went to meet the English, and surrendered on condition that the French should make blubber for the English, and that the French should have half the blubber for their pay. The English accepted this condition, because the French know how to boil better than other nations, so quickly and in such a short time, a large quantity of the blubber. But the fangs or files<sup>1</sup> which were taken from the snouts of the whales, the English would have for themselves. The little French vessel, which Muijden had previously forbidden to fish, also made an agreement with the English to burn (or boil) for them forty barrels of blubber, and what more they made was to be for themselves; nevertheless, this promise was not kept to them; for afterwards the Admiral, who arrived on the 21st, revoked the agreement.

On the 22nd, the Admiral discharged the second vessel of the said Muijden, of which Mossel<sup>2</sup> was the master, and on the 24th ordered it to its country, so that it went away on the 25th. But Muijden was detained until the 28th, so that they should not by uniting make any attack upon the English fishers.

Prior to the Admiral performing this business in Bell Sound, he had\* set sail for Horn Sound, and arriving off Horn Sound, he was met by the Dunkirk ship, concerning which it has been said above that it was sent away from Green Harbour on the 16th. It had been right at the S. point of the land, but, unable to find anything of profit, had resolved to return immediately to the most northerly point in 82° and 83°, as high as it could, in order to seek its fortune there. Those of Dunkirk, seeing the English vessels coming, approached them, saying that they came to beg them to be good enough to return them their

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<sup>1</sup> Whalebone.

See Erratum, p. 12, above.

pinnace, which had been taken from them below the long island, as has been said above.

The Admiral received them in friendly manner, promising to do so, but compelled them to enter the bay which lay before them. They therefore entered the Horn Sound together, at midnight, on Midsummer Eve, where they found three Spanish ships, Master Thomas Bonnard with his vessel from Enkhuizen, and also a French ship, with which he had arrived in the bay, and these had agreed to fish together, and to share equally all that they caught. The Biscayans were ordered to come on board the Admiral and give themselves up ; but Bonard resolved to flee, doubting whether his English sailors, of whom he had a goodly number on his ship, could be taken prisoners. But the Admiral fired nine cannon shots, two of which passed across Bonard's vessel ; nevertheless, he would have escaped, but a ball came and broke his buoy-line, so that the vessel could not turn to the wind ; and fearing to get amongst the ice, or against the land, they let down their sail, and the Admiral made Bonard come to him in a boat with all his men, and other Englishmen were placed upon his vessel. With these news, Mossel<sup>1</sup> returned home.

Bonard being taken and the Spaniards sent away, the Admiral left those of Dunkirk to guard the bay, and set sail himself for Bell Sound, where he acted as has been related above.

Now, those of Dunkirk being there on the S. coast of the bay, some of their sailors, to the number of fifteen, took counsel against them, and swore to surprise a small English ship, which was on the N. coast, having come to look for something, inasmuch as there had previously been found a unicorn, of which the bay still bears the name

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<sup>1</sup> See Erratum, p. 12, above.

But inasmuch as during the night chosen for that exploit a whale came and passed close to the vessel, and the master and the pilot had each got into a boat in order to pursue it, these said sailors made themselves masters of the vessel, consenting nevertheless to take the said master with them. The pilot who came on board was obliged by them to pilot them to Norway, under promise that they would give him his clothes. Having arrived there, whilst they were pursuing a small boat which they had taken from the peasants, and which had escaped from them, the master and the pilot immediately made themselves masters of the vessel; and shortly afterwards these mutineers, having surprised a small pinnace of Rotterdam, which they found in Gesque, were captured to the south of Stadt by their abovesaid masters, and taken and delivered into the hands of justice in the town of Dunkirk.

Now the Admiral, having Muijden with him until the 28th, made him a present, in order to content him somewhat, of 20 pipes of lard and 21 wattles for the 18½ whales which he had captured, and thus sent him back to his country. And he still retained in his service the vessel from Saardam, which went here and there for him, looking for wood along the banks and bringing the blubber to the Foreland to the other English ships. This vessel was also given a quantity of blubber for its pay, and came home.

How he acted towards the large French vessel, and what he is desirous of doing with the Enkhuizen vessel, which he has taken to London, is still unknown to us.

Muijden, in returning to his country, could not, however, keep quiet. On the 29th, being the morrow of the day on which he had parted from the Admiral, he sent his large boat to the land, and he himself kept approaching and retiring from the coast. On August 2nd he sent yet

another boat to look for the first, and on the 4th the two boats returned to the vessel, bringing four hundred whales' wattles. Towards evening these boats set out direct for the land to fetch the blubber of the whale they had found. Muijden continued coming and going until August 9th; being unable to stay there any longer on account of the high wind, he went homewards. His boats had been unable to see the vessel on account of the thick fog, and having found the English, returned with them to their country by way of London.

This is all that the pilots had to tell of their unfortunate voyage, which will this year give the English—that is to say, the Muscovy Company—incredible wealth.

And all this the English did, basing their acts on the privileges of their King. The arguments of their right (or pre-eminence) are these: that they are the first who found it with the Chevalier Willoughby, in the year 1553, and that it is Groenland which used to be under the subjection of Norway, wherefore they annually make recognition of a goodly sum of pounds to His Majesty of Denmark.

To which the very learned cosmographer, D. P. Plancius, has made the following replies:—

*Replies made to the arguments and claims of the English that they command the fishery of the Island of Spitsbergen or Newfoundland.*<sup>1</sup>

All those who are acquainted with the voyages made by the English know with what great misunderstanding they wish to maintain that Sir Hugh Willoughby, Knight, and Captain of three ships, called *La Bonne Esperance*, the *Edward Bonaventure*, and *La Bonne Confiance*, discovered

<sup>1</sup> The English also called it King James his Newland.

and found the big island of Spitsbergen, and that in the seventh year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth, which was in the year 1553. For their own narratives of the voyage testify to the contrary : to wit, that the said Knight, with the said three vessels, set out from Ratcliff, in England, May 10th, 1573, to discover by the N. the land of Cathay. Having arrived at the island of Seynam, in Norway, he departed thence July 30th. Very early on the 14th August, he discovered, with two ships, a country situated 160 English leagues (which are 120 German leagues) E. by a quarter N. of the said island of Seynam, in a latitude of  $72^{\circ}$ . And what the said Knight has related thereabouts is written by his own hand in the English language, of which the following is the tenour :

“ The 14 day earlye in the morning we descovered land, wich land we hare with al, hoising out our boat, to descover whath land it might be, but the boat could not come to land, the water was so shoare, were was very much yse also, but there was no similitude of habitation, and this land lyeth frō Seynam 160 leagues, being in latitude 72 degreas, then we plyed to the northward the 15, 16, and 17 day.”

That is to say in French : On the 14th day, early in the morning, we saw a country which we discovered in its entirety, putting out our boat to discover what country it might be ; but the boat could not come to land, the water being so shallow, and there being also much ice, but there was no appearance of a habitation, and this country is situated 160 English leagues from Seznam, being in the latitude of  $72^{\circ}$ . Then we turned northwards the 15th, 16th, and 17th day.

What comparison, forsooth, has this country, situated 120 German leagues E. by a quarter N. from Seynam, in a polar latitude of  $72^{\circ}$ , with the large island of Spitsbergen, the more so as the latter is situated N. by a quarter W. of



Seinam, in a latitude of  $75^{\circ}$  to  $82^{\circ}$  and more, except that up to the present it has not yet been discovered how much further it extends N.? So that there is a greater distance between Willoughby's island and Spitsbergen than between England and the Netherlands. Wherefore this allegation of the English is without any basis; moreover, would the sole view of a country give anyone a legitimate right to its ownership? It is quite true that our mariners found no country in the said locality of  $72^{\circ}$ . But inasmuch as it appears from the English Journal that the said Knight paid no regard to the indication of the compass towards the N.E. and N.W., he sailed more to the N. than he thought. So that it is evident that he discovered and found the eight small islands, which are very near each other, in the latitude of  $73^{\circ}$ , and are called by our mariners the Islands of Willebord. In this longitude and latitude is the island of Willoughby on the maps which are made in England for the Muscovy Company, and for the vessels that go to Spitsbergen. So that their own marine maps evidently contradict it. The English write that the said Knight wintered in the River Warsina, in Lapponia, and that he was frozen to death with all his men, and that the third vessel, with Captain Richard Chanceler, pushed on into the White Sea.

So that it appears manifest and irrefutable that the island of Spitsbergen remained unknown to all men until the Admiral Jacques Henrici Hemskerck, Willem Barentsz., and Jan Cornelisz. Rijp, with two ships, fitted out at the cost of our lords of Amsterdam, found and discovered it on the 19th June, in the year 1596.

To all intelligent men it is well known with what misunderstanding the English call the island of Spitsbergen Groenland (or green land), seeing that these countries are further situated from each other than Norway is distant from Scotland, and between which there is a large, wide sea.

With regard to the second argument of the English, that all islands situated in the N. belong to their King, both those which have been discovered up to now, as well as those which may be discovered hereafter, that is futile and deserves no reply, especially with regard to this island of Spitsbergen, inasmuch as it neither touches nor approaches England in any way, in extent or situation, nor was it first discovered by the English. For why, then, should not the islands of Faroe, Iceland, and Friesland belong to His Majesty, and why not Greenland? The more so since these are situated much nearer Great Britain than the other; leaving out of the question that though some mainlands or islands might belong to someone, nevertheless the navigation of the sea and fishing are (according to the universal rights of all peoples) common to all and freely permitted. And in this matter, neither the Kings of France nor their subjects have forbidden anyone to fish around Nova Francia and Terra Nova, notwithstanding that they were the first to discover these countries in the year 1504. And for these reasons it is firmly to be hoped that the King of Great Britain (who is, with good reason, reported to have the fear of God in his heart, and to be a faithful defender of justice) will expressly enjoin and order his subjects henceforth no more to harm our ships, nor to cause them any hurt or disturbance; and they shall indemnify and repay these fully, as by right, for the loss which they have suffered, wherein he will give greater and still greater proofs of the effects of his good justice.







INTRODUCTION  
TO  
TROUBLES AT SPITSBERGEN IN  
1618.



THE success of the English in 1613 was far from conclusive. Next year, the interlopers were stronger than the Muscovy Company, and they established their right to a share in the fishery. In fact, a temporary agreement was come to between the English and Dutch, whereby the English obtained practically all the western bays, whilst the Dutch settled on Amsterdam Island at the extreme N.W. Both parties agreed to help one another drive away ships of foreign nations. The Dutch also had the use of Horn Sound in 1614. Dutch and English worked hard at exploration in this and the following years, but we are not here concerned with the results.

In 1615, the Dutch were again aggressive, and settled by force at Fairhaven, Bell Sound, and Horn Sound. The English confined themselves to the south harbour of Fairhaven, Foreland Sound, and Ice Sound. At Bell Sound the Dutch erected a large hut. In 1616, they sent their

ships to Jan Mayen, and vigorously exploited that fishery, only four of their vessels going to Spitsbergen, probably from Jan Mayen, towards the close of the season, and they, as Edge says, "kept together in odde places not easily to bee found and made a poore voyage." The English appropriated the Dutch hut in Bell Sound, and thenceforward kept it.

Before the season of 1617 the Dutch Company was enlarged by the addition of Zealand partners. There was no room for their ships at Jan Mayen, nor would the older partners permit them to settle alongside of their ships at Fairhaven. Some of the Zealand ships, therefore, settled at what are now called the Norway Islands. The rest of them had to find accommodation in the English harbours. They were Flushing ships, three in number, under the command of Cornelis de Cock. Ultimately, they anchored in Horn Sound. The English ordered them away, and they went to Bear Island, but finding no whales, they returned to Horn Sound, probably hoping to find a Dutch man-of-war arrived there in the meantime to defend them. William Heley, in the *Dragon*, an armed vessel, was then sent from Bell Sound to drive the Flemings away, but he did not arrive till Cornelis de Cock had sailed for home with two ships, full-laden. The third ship, the *Noah's Ark*, whereof John Verelle was master, alone remained behind. Heley deprived him of his catch, and took away his guns, sending him home ballasted with stones.

This high-handed action gave rise to strong protests and active negotiations during the following winter; but as no redress was obtained, the Dutch seem to have decided to make reprisals in the season of 1618. The Noordsche Company sent forth no less than nineteen ships to Jan Mayen, and twenty-three to Spitsbergen, whilst the Muscovy Company's fleet only consisted of thirteen ships and two pinnaces. What happened is described in the following

affidavits, now for the first time printed. We possess several other accounts of the same proceedings.<sup>1</sup>

It was known in Holland that Heley, the aggressor of the previous year, was to go to the Foreland. It was therefore significant that the three Zealand captains who had been at Horn Sound in 1617, were sent this year to settle alongside of him at the Foreland, a harbour never before interfered with by the Dutch. Their plan, do doubt, was to let Heley's ships do a season's work, and then, with the help of other Dutch vessels, brought together for that purpose, to fall upon him, take his stuff away, and carry it to Holland as compensation for last year's losses.

The following affidavits have been copied from the volumes of English State Papers referred to in each case.

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<sup>1</sup> The Dutch authorities are quoted by S. Muller, *Noordsche Compagnie*, p. 217, note. He gives an abstract of them. For the English side, see also Edge's *Dutch Disturbance*, in Purchas, vol. iii, pp. 466-470, and letters from Salmon, Sherwin, and Beversham in the same volume, p. 733.





## Troubles at Spitsbergen in 1618.

AT THE FORELAND.<sup>1</sup>



WILLIAM HELEY of London, merchant, aged 24 yeares or thereabouts; Robert Salmon of Deptford, marriner, aged 28 yeares or thereabouts; Stephen Smith of Gravesend, marriner, aged 40 yeares or thereabouts; Thomas Wilkinson of Ipswich, and John Headland of London, marriner, aged 28 yeares or thereabouts; sworn and examined before the right worr'le Mr. Di'or Amye, Deputie to the r't wor'l S'r Henry Martin, Knight, Judge of His Majesty's High Court of the Admiralty, on the behalfe of the Muscovia Companje concerning their last voiadge made into Greenland, said and affirmed by chardge of their oathes as followeth, viz. :—

That on the first of June, 1618, the ship *Pleasure* of London, beeing Vice-Admirall of the English fleete, Robert Salmon being M'r, arrived at the Foreland, at w'h harbor William Heley was chiefe follower of the business, where they found the shipp *Elsabith*, M'r Michael Greene, being arrived there the day before, and the ship *Seahorse*,

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers, Domestic, James I, Sept., 1618, vol. xcix, No. 40.*

M'r Nicholas Woodcock, who had beene there and of and on upon the coast above twenty days before, and who departed from there the seaventh of June. The sixth of June in came the *Prudence*, M'r Thomas Wilkinson, which saide shipp, the *Elsabeth* and *Prudence*, were of noe defence, haveing no ordnance in them. The English presently upon their arrivall wente in hande to fitt their provisions and man'd out all the shallops they could to sea, clearinge their shipp, reman'd not expecting the comeinge of anye Flemings thither, and in foure or five daies after their arrivall had killed eight or nine whales, being in good forwardnes to make a speedie voiadge.

Further they say that the ninth of the same month of June there came in to that harbor three saile of Flemings, namely, the *Fortune* of Campheere of 400 ton, with eightene cast pieces, besides brasse bases and murtherers, the captaine and Master-General Hubright Cornelison beeinge Admirall of them. The *St. Peter* of Hornee or Flushing, of 300 ton, with eightene cast pieces, Cornelius de Cock of Flushing beeinge Captaine and Master, and the *Salamander* of Flushing, of 200 ton, with fourteene cast pieces, Adrean Peterson being Captaine and M'r and Vice admirrall, who came to anchor close by the English shipp, and presently fitted there shallops out to sea, haveinge great store of Biskeners, and set foure or five shallops from each shipp, and landed their caske and other provisions, which the English seeinge, the saide William Heley sent for the Captaine of the Admirall of the Flemings, willing him to rowe aboorde, who retourned answer he had other busines to do. Then the saide William Heley went ashoare and toulde those Flemings that were ashoare they must not remaine there, willinge them to wish their Captaine come a shoare. They answered, thither they were come and therē they must stay, and would place their coppers close by the English, saieinge "Where is your

Dragon nowe? you thinke to doe as you did the last yeare, but we are fitted for you nowe and wilbe even with you for the last yeares work"; which being spoken by divers Flemings that were in the Flushing shipp at Hornsounde the last yeare the said William Heley would give no eare to them, but willed to speake with their comandeur. Presently afterward the said Cornelius de Cock and Adrean Peterson came ashoare to looke out a convenient place to sett up their coppers, unto whom the said William Heley went and demanded of them why they came thither, tellinge them that the Kinges Maiestie of England had straightly forbidden all nations whatsoever for comeinge into those partes, but oncly the English Companie and their servantes, unto whom he had granted his highnes his Pattents, and that there was not any Hollande or Fleminge in that harbor before, it beeing called the English bay by the Fleminges, and so set down in their plats or sea-charts, and therefore willed them to departe. They saide they knewe the Kinge of England had graunted comission to the English Companie; and their Prince Grave Maurice, Prince of Orrange, had likewise graunted them Comission to fish in all the harbors in Grene lande, and that seeinge they were now the Englishmens masters by reason of their greate force they would staie and fishe there, and so for that time departed.

Moreover, they said that on the xith of June the foresaide Hubright Cornelison, the Admirall, came a shoare, which the saide William Heley perceiveinge, beeing a shoare, willed Michael Greene to staie and he would speake with him, thinckeing he had beene chief com'ander of the rest. Assoone as the said Hubright came ashoare he presently went to the English Coppers and there layed hand on one of them, calling his men to come and plucke it up and carry it away. The saide William Heley bid him let it



shoare, thinkinge to have some conference with him aboute theree beeing there, and standieng close by the said Flemish Admirall he called him skellam Rogue, and with a knife ready drawne in his pocket stab'd at him, and had there kil'd him if the said Michaell Greene had not held him by force, and diverse English come thither presently. And then he bid the English fish, fish, and he and his associates would take away all their oyle and would sinke them presently, and so in greate rage departed, and sent musketts and pikes a shoare, which the English seeinge, the nexte day beeing the xiith of June, the said William Heley sent the foresaid Roberte Salmon, Thomas Wilkinson, Michael Greene, Stephen Smith, and John Hedland aborde the foresaid Cornelius de Cock to knowe of him if they had any one principal comander amongst them, and tellinge him what abuses the said Hubright had offred a shoare, and so parleinge a pretty time by the shipp's side, at lengthe hee called them into his shipp, and toulde them they had no comander, but that every man severally was to doe his best for a voiadge, and had every one a comission from their Prince, and the States so to doe, which he showed to the English, and said they were not in any hande to medle with the English or anie other nation there, unlesse they had any wronge offred them firste, either by takinge anythinge from them or in seekinge to put them from makeinge their voiadge. Then they were every one to aid one another, and to spoile and overthrowe all the English and take all from them, but hoped there should be no such cause, beeing desirous to fish in quiet, saieinge he was sorry for Hubright's rashnes, thinkeinge him to be druncke and willinge the English to forget it. And woulde have had them to have sent for the saide William Heley to have come aborde him, saieinge his comission was as lardge as anie others, and willed them all to speake to the said William Heley to bestowe an old shallop on him which laie



ashoare, and sent to him to that end, which, upon report of his greate kindnes offred to spare the English anie thinge he had, the said William Heley bestowed the old boate on him, and so they rested quiet. Further, they say that there came in two shippes more of Mr. Corteenis of Middleborough, the one haveinge foureteene caste pieces, and the other twelve, beeinge shippes of greate burthen, who likewise placed up Coppers, man'd out shallops, and so over preste the English with a greate number of boates, seekinge all the meanes they could to overthrowe the voiadge of the English. Yet, through God's blessinge and their painefull labors they kill'd more whales then all the Flemings, and were like to make a greate voiadge there if they could have beene in quiet.

They say that imediately afterwards there beeinge some difference betweene the English and the foresaid Hubright concerneinge a whale kil'd and claimed by the Englishmen's Biskeners, and with held from them by the saide Hubrighte, the English sent aboorde of Hubrighte about the whale, but could not have her restored. And assoone as he came a shoare, the said William Heley spake to him himselfe about her. He desired to speake with the Biskeners, and saide if shee belonged to the English he would restore her, and saide he was very sorrie for the former wronge he offred, and woulde not have donn so much for one hundred poundes if he had not beene animated thereunto by his men saieinge he was in drincke, and desired it mighte be forgotten, and to be friends, proffringe greate kindnes to the English, but kept the whale still.

And divers times afterwards the saide William Heley haveinge often conference with the saide Cornelius de Cock and Adrean Peterson, both aboard and ashoar, the said Cornelius de Cock told him that there was appointed in Holland twenty three saile of shippes to come for Greene-

land, and nyneteene saild for the Touches<sup>1</sup> and were appointed in this sorte, five for Hornsound, seaven for Belsound, whereof one was to be a States man-of-war, that should ride close by the English Admirall's side, and if the English Admirall weyed and went elsewhere, then the man-of-war was to go with him: three in Greeneharbor, five at the Foreland, with a man-of-warr to ride close by the English Vice-admirall's side, and if shee stir'd then the man-of-war to goe with her, and thrcce at Fairehaven, and that they knewe how the English Fleete was appointed in Holland, and so they had ordered themselves to over presse them and to make a voiadge in every severall harbor in despighte of all the English. And that outward bounde in regard they were of divers townes in Holland, and could not come together there, they had appointed to meete all in Shoteland and soe to come all in companie together. And that the saide Cock, Peterson, and Hubrighte did staie five or sixe dayes in Shotland for the rest of the fleete who had deceived them, and the winde comeinge Easterly kepte them in there that the rest of the fleete past before they could get out. And that there merchants and owners in Holländ had by writinge bounde and contracted them all in grëate penall sumes to aid one another, and to overthrowe and spoile the English of their voiadge upon the least occasion that the English should anie way offer to them if they should but take a piece of a line or any other small thinge from them, and so carrie the English shippes to Hollande, yet they would daily steale and carry away the Englishmens finns in greate quantitie from a shoar, beinge often willed to forbear the same, but could have no redresse.

Further they say that in other speeches aboute their comissions, the said Cornelius de Cock, in the hearinge of

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<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, Hudson's Touches, or Jan Mayen Island.

"A gross  
and in-  
tolerable  
abuse to  
his Ma'ty.

the saide William Heley and Stephen Smith aboorde the said Cock's shipp, said that our King of England was a Scotchman, and that his picture stood at Flushing with an emptie purse by his side, which words the saidd English not brookeinge, the said Cock to stopp their mouthes would presently fall down on his knee and drinke half a glasse of wine to the Kinges Ma'tie's health, and sit and drinke half a glasse of wine to the Prince of Orrange his health.

Moreover, they say that the Flemings seeinge the English with the few boates they had kill more whales than they did, the said Adrean Peterson tould them they would allow the English to sett out but three shallops from each English shipp in that harbor, and would cause them to take in the rest, they haveinge but twelve in all out, and did threaten to use the English as they thoughte good. But all their greate wordes could neither make the English either take in shallop or otherwise doe any thinge but what they sawe most conveniente for the good of their voiadge. And beeinge thus continually molested with the Flemings, the said William Heley sent a lettèr, dated the 24th of June, to the English Admirall how all busines stood with them at the Foreland concerninge the Fleminges, and upon his answer backe the second of July, 1618, told the Flemings that if they would not departe and leave that harbor with what they had, and suffer us to be in quiet there and restore the finns they had carried from the shoare, the English Admirall would come shortly and put them from there. They said they cared not ; let him come and doe his worst, we will staie and fish ; our force is greater than the English : soe we were forced to rest content with their iniuries, followeinge our busines and sending one of our three shipp, the *Elizabeth*, eighte leagues<sup>1</sup> from us to fish there to make her voiadge, whither

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps to Magdalena Bay, 13 leagues.

they sent shallops likewise, where she had beene full laden with an overplus if they would have suffered her there in quiet, and whither they sent to take her, and so forced her to departe out of the countrie.

They say that on the xvth daye of Julie one of their Biskeners brought them worde how that the Englishe Admirall and three other shippes in her companie were cominge into that harbor; whereupon they left worke and began to fitt their shippes, then worde was brought them againe it was four Flemish shippes, come from Hornsounde, which the saide Cornelius de Cock and the rest had sent a shallop for fourteene daies before, whoe on the sixteenth daie of Julie came into the harbor and anchored close by the Englishe Vice-Admirall, the Admirall of which foure Fleminges caused a pointe of warr to be sounded, as he came by the English Vice-admirall, and let fall his anchor in her quarter close by her, and one of the other shippes hard by in the bowe of her, the names of one of w'ch shippes was the *Catt* of Delfhaven, wherein Abraham Laverstick and Derrickson was generall of the Fleminges, beinge Admirall, haveinge sixteene pieces of ordnance, and William Johnson Milworth in a shipp of Horne, with 14 pieces of ordnance, and two other shippes, one of them haveinge fourteene pieces of ordnance and the other of lesse force to our viewe.

Further more, they say that the 17th daie of Julie they called a councell aboard the Generall, who at his comeing to an anchor took in his flagge, and then one of the Middleborough men remayned Admirall of all the Fleminges, and Hubright Cornelisson Vice-admirall, and in their counsell where they drew orders for surpriseing and takeing the English there, one of them that last came into harbor not alloweing of their proceedeings in anger departed from them, weyed anchor, and wente out of the harbor, tellinge some Englishmen he met that the rest of the Flemings

were about to take the English, seeinge they could not make a voiage in the harbor where they had byn haveinge all fower but twentie foure hogsheads of Blubber in them, and Cock, Peterson, and Hubrighte haveinge kild but seaven whales, and that he would not condescend unto them ; he came not to robb men, but to fish for a voiadge, and had comission so large and so good as anie of the rest had. Then the Middleborough man took in his flagg, and the generall put abroad his flagge in the maine top againe. And then sent for the saide William Heley, to come aboorde his shipp, whoe was a shoare, who retourned him thankes, and saide if he pleased either to rowe a shoare or aboorde his shipp, he would gladlye speak with him. Then he sent for the M'r of the English Vice-admirall, Robert Salmon, who wente aboorde, takeing his mate, Stephen Smith, with him, and sent his boat ashoare again for the saide William Heley to rowe aboorde, tellinge him if he did not then come, he would fetch him perforce ; he, receiueinge such a threatening message, retourned him answer he would not come aboorde his shipp till he understood the cause of his threateninge. Then he sente againe, and caused M'r Salmon to write a note, yet could not get the saide William Heley to come aboorde. But wente presentlye aboorde his owne shipp, resolveinge to be fetched from thence perforce, if needes he would haue him come in that nature, whither he sent likewise, and M'r Salmon came him selfe and willed him to goe, saieinge they intended to take all the oile and goods we had from us. The saide William Heley tould him that he did not thinke soe, for that morneinge he had had some speeches with Cock and Peterson a shoare, in companie with Thomas Beamounde, where, demandeinge of them what theis last come Flemings were, they replied they were come from Hornsounde, heareinge we killed good store of whales to the Northwards, and that if they staid and fished in that harbor they woulde take



the thirde whale from them by an agreement made in Hollande amongst themselves, in case one did come to the harbor wheere the other were appointed before their cominge forth, unless it were for defence against the English, and that theree was an order made in Hollande, no whale oile should come out of England, and other like speeches. So in the end the saide William Heley, in companie with Robert Salmon and Thomas Wilkinson, wente aboorde the Flemish generall, where he founde the saide Cornelius de Cock, Adrean Peterson, Hubright. Cornelisson, William Johnson Millworth, who had beene with the English Admirall in Bel sound, and there seene His Ma'ties Comission graunted to the English companie. Then the saide William Heley demaunded the cause of his sendinge for, and why the Generall threatned to fetch him perforce. They answered, they sent for him to let him understand that they came to ioyne with those that were there before, and to take all the oile and goodes the English had there; and if he would yeelde, then they would be table brothers and friends, if not they would presently haule aboorde and sinke him. He demanded if they had comission so to doe, and requested diverse times to see it; but they would not shew anie, saieing their comission was better then ours. And what they did their comission should beare them out, and presently Hubrighte, useing his former language of skellam Rogue, made shew, and proffered two or three times to goe out of the cabben and to sinke our shipp whilst we were in conference together. The said William Heley told Cock that theis proceedeings were contrarie to the comission he had formerly shewed. He answered, for his comission, it was no matter. Their Generall was there, and what he commaunded, if it were to sinke or burne us they must, and would presently obaie his comaund and doe it. Then seeinge we could not urge the Gennerall to shew his comission demaunded of them upon what grounds or for what cause

they woulde offer us that wronge. They coulde alledge nothing, they saide, but that our Captaine had caused two of William Johnson Millworth's shallops to be hauled up, and would not permit them to fish in Belsound, but otherwise used him kindlie and sent him from thence, delivering him his shallops againe. We tould them we had given them a shallop, and that our Captaine did no more then his Comission, and asked them why they did not goe thither for satisfaction, for wee could not give them anie for it, and that was a small iniurie to deale thus with us and to spill bloode for such a trifle. They saide we were all one, and it should cost much blood, for after they had doone with us they would take all the reste of the English fleete and carrie our Admirall and his shipp to Hollande, makinge an oathe by the sacrament to performe it, we willed them to let it reste till the next daie, wishinge them well to advise themselves what they did and what they wente aboute, saieinge we were the King of Englands subiects set out by the English Companie, and had His Ma'ties comission. They replied they were resolved and cared not for the Kinges Comission, and if they did more then their Comission there was good law in Flanders, and tellinge us the countrie was theirs, askeinge us how we durste doe as we had doone formerly in their countrie, and though the Hollanders had lefte it they would not loose it, now we should not put them by it, they beeinge the first discoverers thereof, and if we came againe and fish there anie more it should bee in some such harbors as they would allot us after they had made a devison of the countrie. The generall comaunded us to take in our flagge. Answer was made him by William Heley it should firste blowe from the staffe, and that before we would yield we would die in defence of His Ma'ties righte and savegarde of that we had, and that they should either sinke or burne us before they had it, telling them in regarde they would



shew noe Comission nor authoritie for what they wente about we could accompte them no other then pirates. And desired them to let us call in our men that were abroade in shallops three or four leagues from the shipp plieinge our voiadge, and but twelve houres time to ffit our shipp, and then two or three of the best of them come and win it from us if needs they would have it, or give us time to send to our Admirall; they answered noe, what need that they woulde allowe us halfe an houre, and before we went of from their shipp side, they had laid out two warps, one from the generall and the other from Cock, and so heaved aboorde of us and there offred with weapons drawne to enter our shipp, shee beeinge all open and unpriddye, and very few men aboorde of her, rideinge with yardes and topmasts downe, yet not likeinge so well to enter they fell from the side again and continued their warps fast till the 18th day at night, and their beeinge much winde we sent for some of our sea-men that were neere hande to come aboorde, who presently hauled up their boates and came by lande, a very bad iourney. The 19th daye of Julic in the morneinge beeinge Sondag we got up our top-masts and fitted our shipp soe well as we could to defend our selves. It beeinge then faire weather and little winde they put abroade their wast cloathes, bloodie colo'rs and discharged diverse small shott, layed out warps to heave cleere one of another and brought *five broade sides* to beare on us of greate force, heminge us in and overlayeinge our kedger to keepe us we should not weye, and then sent for Mr. Salmon to rowe aboorde the generall, who willed them to write their minde, but would not goe, for we kept our selves quiet, expecteinge their begininge, then they sent againe to knowe what we intended to doe, we sent two men aboorde, namely, Stephen Smith and Robert Hope, who spoke dutche, to tell them we meante to ride there and followe our busines and defend our selves soe well as we

could. Then Mr. Salmon went aboarde the Generall thinkeinge to have founde him in a better minde, but contrarily he founde him readie to begin, saieinge his glasse was turned one out and the other halfe run, and if we did not yeelde before that was out he would begyn, and if we shott a shot againe he woulde pilladge and use us cruelly; and one aboorde of him (beeinge either the Master of the shipp, or rather the States man-of-wars pilot) saide, let us begin, and not loose any more time. Then as soone as Mr. Salmon came aboorde the generall began to let flie, and the rest seconded him so fast as they could ply their ordnance, musketts, and murtherers, and shott divers shott at our Flagg, and through our shipp's hull, and killed us a man in the foretop, looseinge our foretopsaile before we shot at them againe, for that our men were most busie in seekeinge to set saile, that we might the better have dealte with them. And if God had not showed his greate mercie towards us they had then spoiled most of our men and blowne up our shipp, and so they continued still shooteinge and killinge, and spoileinge our men, and haveinge no sooner plide our broade side on them and got our shipp under saile through them, and makeinge our ordnance readye againe, but they shot our sailes downe, cut all their cables followeinge us, and forceinge us either to rune a shoare or come to an anchor, bideinge us to stop our leaks to keepe us from sinkeinge, we then beeinge unable to make resistance againste so manie; they came aboorde of us armed, and disarmed our shipp of all her ordnance, powder, and munition, comandeinge our men to goe ashoare, pilladgeinge everye thinge they could laie hands on, drinkeinge out our beere, carrieinge away our victualls, shootinge at our men ashoare, and doeinge what pleased themselves, which the saide William Heley beeinge much agreived at, tould the Generall although he had taken the shipp he hoped he would not suffer his men to

carrie away poore mens cloathes, and our victualls, and drinke out our beere, haveinge little enough to carrie them home, and bid the Generall if he would have them drinke to send them beere from his owne shipp, for he would not allow them anie there. The Generall replied, How dare you denie my men beare or speake to me? I will presently send and fetch your beare out of your shipp, and proffred to breake up our breadrome. And manie other violences to intollerable.

Further they depose that the saide Generall and the other com'anders of the Fleminges beeinge in the *Pleasures* cabin, and seeinge the picture of Sir Thomas Smithe, Knighte, there, demanded whose image it was; the saide William Heley toulde them it was the picture of the worthie Governor of their companie of merchants in England, and one he hoped would seeke meanes to have our wronges redressed and sufficient satisfaction for the iniuries sustained. Oh, saide they, that S'r Thomas Smith is a greate man, he hath money enough to lend the Kinge, he can doe what he will with speakinge, what care we for him. So haveinge taken away all our oile, fyns, ordnance, powder, and diverse other things, as per the p'ticuler's appeareth, overthrowinge our whole voiadge, and takeinge the other shipp *Prudence* there in companie with us, they bid us goe kill more whales for ourselves if wee would.

And after our shipp was taken, worde beeinge brought to the Generall that some of the Englishmen were kild'd, he said it was no matter and they were all kil'd, saieinge they had time enough to yeelde, and that he shott five or sixe shott at their flagg before he shot the shipp's hull.

Further they saie, that the Gen'rall beeinge a man of bad cariadge and meane condicon, and one whom the saide Cock, Peterson, Habrighte, and William Johnson, beinge men in shew of good fashion and credite, and especially the

saide Cock, Peterson, and Johnson, of farr better carriadge and com'aunde, had of them selves caused the saide Abraham to be come and take upon him to be their generall, and so thinkeinge by their greate force to have overcome and caused us to yelde without anie resistance, and coniectureinge by that meanes to save themselves, if anie thinge should be called in question, to make him stande for all, he beeinge a simple fellowe and one that had beene saile maker with the man of warr but two yeares before, and one so addicted to drinke that the Captaine of the man of warr saide he had seene him druncke twentie daies together, and that he was but admirall of two or three shippes, and had not com'aund of anie more. And he himself tould us after all was donn, he was not generall but an Admirall, and demaundeinge of him his name he saied it was Rowell, which in English is a nicke name (as much as to say, you looke).

And they saie that, haveinge don in that harbor, for a farewell as one of our shallops was goeinge ashoare to fill some freshe water they shot a greate shot throwe her to spoile the men in her. And then proceeded to goe and take all the rest of the English Fleete in the countrie, and vtterlie to overthrowe and spoile the whole voiadge of the English, departeinge from that harbor the 24th of Julie, 1618.

Concordat in originalis,

WILL FREWARD.

AT BELL SOUND.

*Septimo Septembris, 1618.*

"Thomas Edge of London, merchant, aged 30 yeares or thereabouts; Thomas Sherwyn of Wappinge, marriner, aged 33 yeares or thereabouts; John Thornbush of Wappinge, marriner, aged 30 yeares or thereabouts; John Martin of

Rodrith, marriner, aged 30 years or thereabouts ; John Ellis of Wappinge, marriner, aged 38 yeares or thereabouts ; and John Barker of Radcliffe, marriner, aged 30 yeares or thereabouts,"

Declaired upon oath,

"That Thomas Edge, in company with sixteene saile of English shipps and pinnaces, arrived upon the coaste of King James his Newland, the 29th daie of Maie, 1618. And then seeinge diverse Flemish shipps plicinge for the coaste gave order to the saide English fleete to ply with what dilligence they could for the severall harbors unto which they were appointed, whereby we might be possessers of all the harbors before the Fleminges (if possible we could). And attained unto every severall harbor before anie Fleminge. And the saide Thomas Edge comeinge into Belsound the thirde of June, 1618, found there an English shallop and five men who had bin upon the coaste above twentye daies, and not seene anie Fleminge or other nation upon the coaste this yeare. And understandeinge by John Ellis, M'r of a small English ship and one of our fleete that there was foure saile of Fleminges gon into Hornsound, the saide Thomas Edge sent the saide Ellis presently thither to make knowne to the Captaine of the States man of warr and Generall of the Flemings there the lardgnes of his highnes letters Pattents to the compaignie, and by virtue thereof to will them to departe from the country, and not any waie to staie to fish or take anye benefitt of the contry to the hindrance or molestacon of the English." The Dutch replied in the same terms as they did at the Foreland.

Thomas Edge "intended to have gone thither (to Horns'd) himselfe, and, beeinge fittinge for that purpose, about the xith of June, 1618, there came into Bel sound to him the foresaid Will'm Johnson Milworth and George Matison, for whom he sent for aboorde, who



came there he shewed them His M'ties Comission," etc., and willed them to depart or he would make them. "They saide the English were not able to doe soe, for there was a fleete of above twenty saile of Fleminges upon the coaste of Kinge James his Newland and as manie at the Touches. And that the Prince of Orrange and States had this yeare graunted free comission to the Fleminges to fishe in Greenland, and given the same contry to them and Younges foreland, *alias* Sir Thomas Smithes Ilande, to the Hollanders."<sup>1</sup> . . . . . They said they intended to fish by force in Bell sound, "expecting dailie fower other Flemish shippes and a mann of warr to come thither."

"Further they said that the saide Edge tould them he would in noe hande suffer them to put out a shallop. Then they intreated, in regard they had beene longe at sea, that wee would permit them three or foure daies to take in a little wood and water, and then they would departe the country and not molest anie of the companie, w'h the said Thomas Edge, our generall, gave them leave to doe. Vnder color of which fctcheinge wood and water they sent a shallop to Hornsound to the States man of warr and generall of the Flemings, there makeinge knowne to them that the English Captaine [would not suffer] them to fish in Bel sound, and required their aide to come thither and strengthen them againste the English. Then the Captaine of the States man of warr and Flemish Generall sent the pilote of the man of warr to the English Captaine to knowe the reason, whie he would not p'mit those Flemings to fish there. Our Generall shewed the said pilot His Ma'ties Comission, and bid him tell those that sent him that by virtue of that he denied them to fish there, and would doe his beste to putt them and the reste

<sup>1</sup> Other names for Hudson's Touches or Jan Mayen Island.



out of the Countrye. Then the Pilot bid those Fleminges at Bel sound get their shallops out to sea to kill the whales and see if the English durst medle with them or hinder them; if they did then the States man of warr and other Fleminges would come and drive the Englishe from thence. Whereupon those Fleminges in Belsounde caused two of their shallops to give chase to a whale, w'h our Generall seeinge, gave order to our Englishmen to take them and hawle them up a shore and bidd the Pilote wish the States man of warr and the rest of the Flemish fleete come thither, and they should we would doe as before his and their faces. Then the Pilote departed to make knowne the same to the Flemings at Horn Sounde, whose comeinge wee daille expected. And by that meanes could not proceede to other harbors as we intended to have donne. Then the forsaide two Flemings came and intreated our Generall to bestowe their two shallops on them againe, and then they would not staie in any parte of the countrye. Upon which intreatie and faithfull promise our Generall gave them their shallops, and soe aboute the 23rd of June, 1618, they wente from Belsounde and went presently to Hornsound contrarie to their promise. And immediately afterwards our Generall had intelligence of the arrivall of diverse other Flemish shippes into the other harbors in the country, beeinge of greate force and more then the English were anie waie able to drive anie waie out of the country or hinder from makeinge a voiadge. Then our Generall resolved to spend some time towards makeinge our voiadge in Bel Sound, and in the chiefe prime of the yeare haveinge settled all [things in] order [there], and beeinge determined to goe to the Northwarde to put some Flemings from thence. As we were readie to departe our Generall received newes from the Foreland that nine saile of Flemings had taken our Vice-admirall and one other shipp

country, kild and spoiled diverse men, taken away all their ordnance and munition. And had threaten'd and sworne by the sacrament to take us and our shipp and carrie us to Hollande, and to overthrowe and spoile all the English in the country and take all from them. Our Generall then drewe some parte of our fleete together to withstande them. And sendinge for a shipp named the *George* from Hornsound to come to him. The States man of warr came alongst with him. Then our Generall sent for the Captaine thereof to come aboorde of him, who did. Unto whom our Generall made knowne the wronges and iniuries offred us by the Fleminges and the overthrowinge of our whole voiadge.

Moreover they say that he seemed sorrowfull to heare such newes, and shewed our Generall the Comission he had from the Prince of Orrange and States, w'h was not to medle with the Englishe or anie other nation upon that coaste, but to defend them selves if anie offred to molest or hinder them. And desired of our Generall a note of the offenders names, and a relation in briefe of the proceedeinges of the Fleminges to the States, which he gavè him in wri-teinge under his hande (see below). And then he promised our Generall if he met with anie of them if he could get them aboorde his shipp he would keepe them and carrie them into Hollande.

Also our Generall demanded of him why he had maintained them to fish in Hornesound, and threatened to come and drive us from Belsounde, and had suffred some of those in Hornesound to goe to the Northwarde and robb and spoile our English. He saide he did not anie waye maintaine them otherwise then the States Comission, w'h was if anie offred wronge to them he was to doe his best to righte and defend them, and if they offred wronge to anye he was [ ] them. And [ ]

[ ] of those that were gone to the North

wards, wherein they had promised to see if they could kill anie whales, and not to medle with the English, and to retourne to him in fifteene daies space and then goe home, and so desired our Generall to let him departe that he might go seeke them, but greatly feared they were gonne out of the country.

STATEMENT BY T. EDGE OF THE DOINGS  
IN 1618.<sup>1</sup>

This is a copy of the document written by Edge, and by him given to Captain Johnson, of the *Tunnyfish*, to transmit to the Dutch authorities, demanding redress from them.

It states that he received from Heley a letter dated June 24th, saying that five Flemings had arrived at Sir Thomas Smith's bay.

Hubright Cornelison offered to pluck up the English coppers, and to have stab'd at W. Heley with his knife.

On the 16th of July, four more Flemish ships came. In one was Lereckson the Generall, in another was Wm. Johnson Hillworth of Horne, "who was with me, the said T. Edge, in Bell sound."

"Written in King James his Newland the 30th July, 1618."

Signed "THOMAS EDGE."

AT HORN SOUND.

xvii *Septembris*, 1618.

John Johnson of Lymehouse, marriner, aged 35 years or thereabout.

William Dridle of Redritge, marriner, aged 35.

William Henderson of Lymehouse, marriner, aged 37.

Declaired upon oath,

"That on the 7th of June, 1618, John Johnson and William Dridle wente aboorde a shipp of the Flemings

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers, Dom., James I, July-Aug. 1618*, vol. xcvi, docket 44.

called the *Catt*, of Delphaven by Rotterdam, wherein one Abraham Lirerickson, *alias* Dirrickson, was, beeing generall of the Flemings, there beeing then two other shippes under the comaunde of the saide Abraham and one of the States men of warr, called the *Douyfish*, John Johnson beeing Captaine, where, after the English had demaunded the cause of their comeinge thither, sheweinge them that the Kinges Ma'tie of England had straightlie forbidden all nations aswell his owne subiects as others of what degree soever (save onely the saide companie and their servants) to use, trade, or fish within or upon the saide coaste, and so willed them to departe. The Fleminges shewed their comission, which was, as they saide, graunted them from the Grave Morrice, Prince of Orange, for them to use any place or porte of Spitsbergen, which, as they saide, is Greenland. And further saide, howsoever, hither we are come to this porte, and in this place will make our voiadge. The English answered the Generall that if they did soe they did contrarie to their comission, in that they staid to fish there, and hinder the English in their proceedinges, which they mighte not in anie hande suffer to their powers: no, not their owne countreyemen or brethren, for if they should, they durste not avowe it in Englande. The Fleminges answered and that might very well be, and for their partes saide they woulde not anie way hinder or molest the English, but intended to fish quietlye by them. The English toulde them they would not doe soe, but it would be a greate hinderance to them in regard they sett their shallops out to sea to kill the whale and take the benefitt of the countrye. By which meanes they would overthrowe their voiadge. The Flemings bad them holde their peace, and saide their shallops they must and would set out, and make a voiadge there. And would place up their coppers by the English, saieinge the harbor was theirs, beeing given

to the Hollanders in the yeare 1614 by Captaine Josep. The English answered them that was more then Captaine Josep could do or had power, he beeinge but a servante, and imploied thither by the companie. Onely that which he did, the Hollanders haveinge a greate fleete of shipps that year upon the coaste, beinge of greate force, and he meetinge with them with foure saile of English shipps, and beinge unable to drive them from the coaste with that small force, did for that yeere, at the requeste of the Generall of the Fleminges, permit them to see if they could kill anie whales in that harbor towards the defrayeing of their greate chardge, and not otherwise (which Hollanders have forsaken the country for these three yeares paste), and the English remained quiet till the comeinge of these Zealanders.

Moreover, they depose that the Captaine of the States man-of-warr saide, "My good friends, hould yo'r peace, for hither I am come with comission from the States to see unto these men that they neither doe anie wronge nor take wrongs. And so longe as they staie I will staye, and when they set saile I will set saile. For I come not to fish nor to lade any goodes, but to see unto them." Yet nevertheless he suffred his men daily to steale and carrie the Companies fins from the shoare, he beeinge often willed and required to give chardge to the contrarie, w'h he woulde not doe. And did keepe a greate boate alwayes out readie man'd with twentie small shot and pikes to resist and hinder the English from followeing their busines, and to garde the Flemish shallops. Tellinge the English that their comission was better then anie comission the English had. And beinge toulde of the wronges don by the Fleminges to the English at Foreland in scoffeing manner shrunk up his shoulders at it; and afterwards caused divers men with musketts, swordes, and pikes to enter the English tent when the men were at rest to

searche for one of their coopers, who had upon some occasion kil'd a Fleminge. And saide that the Kinges Ma'tie of England had not soe much to doe with the saide lande as the States had, and that they were the firste discoverers thereof. . . . .

Then there came two Flemish shippes more into that harbor, which came out of Belsound, beeinge put from there and not p'mitted to fish there by the Captaine of the English Fleete, and after that two Flemish shippes more.

Moreover, they saie that on the xith of June the English went aboorde the saide Fleminges Generall to knowe his minde concerneing these last come Fleminges, who saide there they must fish, for that they had comission as well as he, w'h the English demaunded to see, and founde it to be an ould comission, the date and names razed out and new put in, w'h telling the Fleminges of, they saide it was the fashion in Hollande to make one comission last five or seaven yeares.

They said the Captaine of one of the Flemish shippes w'h last came in tooke it unkindly that the Captaine of the English fleete com'aunded him to take in his flagge, saieinge that if he had had those forces in Belsound w'h were then in Hornsounde, he would have made the Captaine of the English to have taken in his flagge. Upon w'h speeches the English in Hornsound caused him for all his peremptorie wordes to take in his flagg, there beinge in that harbor at that time eight shippes of the Fleminges, w'h did imploy greate store of shallops in that place, over pressinge the Englishe and utterly overthroweing their voyadge. And afterwards in the month of Julie, when the said Flemish Generall dep'ted out of that harbor of Hornsounde, and three other shippes in companie with him, the fore saide States man of warr conducted them part of their way, and sent his owne pilot with them, and him selfe with his shipp returned to Hornsound againe.



Moreover, they said that presently after wards newes came from the northwarde to Hornsound that the saide Flemish Generall and eighte shippes more of good force had surprised and taken the English Vice-admirall, kil'd three, spoild manie of their men, and another English shipp there with them. And had taken all their goodes and munition from them, and that they threatened to take the Captaine of the English and carrie him with his shipp to Hollande, and so spoile and take all from the rest of the English in the countrey; whereupon the said Captaine of the English gave order for the fore saide William Dridle to goe for England, and the fore named John Johnson, M'r of the *George*, to come to him with his shipp to defend himselfe from those robbers, w'h the said John Johnson did, and then the fore said States man of warr weyed and went alongst with him. And meetinge with a small English ship of the Companies with two pieces of ordnance, the said States man of warr haled her with a pointe of warr, and carried himselfe very untowardlie towards the English all the time he was with them, rather upholdeinge and maintaininge the others in their ill proceedings rather then anie waie seekinge to reclaim them.

Moreover they saie that Captaine Johnson, in the *Tonny fish*, beinge a States man of warr, and Abraham Lererickson, *alias* Derrickson, Generall of the Fleminges, came aboute xij of the clocke at night with aboute three score men with pikes, shott, and other weapons into the English mens tent, aud carried two English men, named Bartholomew Dale and John Damporte, aboorde the Flemish shipp, and put them into the Bilboes, and kepte them there five or sixe daies. And the saide Flemishe Captaine, with his dagger drawne, did stricke the saide Dale, and used him very despitefully, tellinge them they would carrie them into Hollande and hange them.

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## INTRODUCTION

TO

### VAN DER BRUGGE'S JOURNAL.

---

**I**N the year 1630, at the close of the whaling season in Spitsbergen, the English ships sailed away for England, negligently leaving behind a boat's crew, which included Edward Pellham and seven others. The same thing had happened once before, by the negligence of the same captain, and all the unfortunate derelicts had died, so that Pellham and his companions regarded their own destruction as assured. But they were brave men, and they determined to make what resistance they could to the death that seemed so inevitably awaiting them. They accordingly went to the English huts at Bell Sound, at the bottom of the Schoonhoven (now called Recherche Bay), and prepared to winter there. They made an expedition to Ice Sound to hunt reindeer, and they collected the remains of the whales, out of which the train-oil had been extracted by boiling. These, and a few foxes which they trapped, were their food. They built a warmer room within the great "tent" at Bell Sound, and they collected all the wood they could bring together for firing. Their activity and resource were rewarded. When the English

ships returned next season, all the eight men were found alive and well, to the astonishment of the new-comers.

This was the first time that an arctic winter was successfully lived through on the shores of Spitsbergen. Barentsz. and his men had passed the winter of 1596-7 near the north point of Novaja Zemlja, but that was in a lower latitude, and they were furnished with the full equipment of a well-set-forth expedition, according to the ideas of those days. Pellham and his fellows had no equipment and no provisions, except what the country itself afforded. The feat attracted great attention, and Pellham's admirably written account of it was read not only in England, but in Holland, too, and its lesson, as we shall see, duly taken to heart.

Pellham's pamphlet was curiously entitled "God's Power and Providence; shewed in the Miraculous Preservation and Deliverance of eight Englishmen, left by mischance in Green-land, Anno 1630, nine moneths and twelve dayes," etc. It was published in London by John Partridge, in 1631. A reprint of it was issued by the Hakluyt Society in 1855, in "A Collection of Documents on Spitzbergen and Greenland," edited by Adam White. The reader should compare that story with Van der Brugge's, now for the first time printed in English. It would have been interesting to have reprinted Pellham's tale in this volume; but, as that cannot be done, I venture to mention one or two facts not known to Mr. White which should be added to his notes on Pellham. The Captain William Goodler there mentioned is the Goodlad or Goodlard of other contemporary documents. The tent at Bell Sound was situated as above described. Bottle Cove was the Hull men's station, and is identical with the cove in the north shore of Bell Sound, just outside Axel Island, which the Dutch called Willem van Muijden's Haven. The name for Axel Island at

that time was the Rock in Bell Sound. Coles Park is the land near Coles Bay, misspelt "Coal Bay" on modern charts. The great tent or hut in Bell Sound had originally been built by the Dutch, but had been captured, removed, and rebuilt by the English. For the rest, the tale requires no explanation.

Before discussing Van der Brugge's "Journal," it is necessary to consider the circumstances that determined the expedition of which it is a record. The years in which Pellham and Van der Brugge wintered at Spitsbergen fell within the most successful period of the bay whale-fishery. At that time whales were plentiful in the northern seas. They travelled eastward in the early part of the year, and arrived on the west coasts and in the west bays of Spitsbergen in the early summer. It was their habit to enter the bays in great schools, and having entered, to stay there for a considerable time. Of course, to hunt them in calm, land-locked waters was far easier than to kill and flense them in the open sea. Thus the method of the fishery at that time, pursued both by English, Dutch, Danes, and French, was to send ships up to convenient harbours a little before the time of the arrival of the whales. The ships anchored close to the shore, where huts had been built, which they called their tents. In these huts the tackle of the fishery was laid up from year to year, and the whale-boats were drawn up and turned over on the beach before them. Here, also, the coopers worked at making the necessary casks. Before the huts also they had their furnaces, coppers, and coolers for boiling the train-oil out of the blubber. When a ship had arrived at its anchorage, the whale-boats were manned out, the coopers and other workmen landed, and all preparations for the fishery completed. As soon as the whales came into the bay the hunt commenced, and each whale when killed was towed to the foreshore near the tents, and there flensed, its blubber boiled down, the

oil casked, and the casks floated off and hoisted on board.

The division of bays amongst the nations had been a matter of much dispute and trouble. England, first in the field, claimed the exclusive right to all the bays. The Dutch successfully resisted this claim, and the Danes were also given a share in the fishery; whilst the French Basques also claimed rights of access. All the bays from those now known as Cross and King's Bays (originally Close Cove and Deer Sound), down to Horn Sound, were at this time admittedly English. There were English tents at the north end of Foreland Sound on both shores, in Green Harbour, in the Schoonhoven or Ice Bay (Recherche Bay) of Bell Sound, and on the south shore of Horn Sound. The Dutch possessed any harbours they liked to occupy north of the English shore. Their principal resort was the great bay at the north-west angle of Spitsbergen, which they called Mauritius Bay. The two islands bounding it on the west were known as Amsterdam and Danes Islands respectively. It was against the east part of the south shore of Amsterdam Island that they moored their ships, and here on the flat ground their tents were built in a row near the shore. They called this assemblage of tents Smeerenburg, or Blubber-town. In the first days of the fishery, the south harbour or "gat," between Danes Island and the mainland, had been an English station, and was called Fairhaven. The Dutch retained this name, or called it English Haven; but the English no longer had any rights there.

Before proceeding with our historical discussion, it will be best to set down the correct names for the various localities in the neighbourhood of Smeerenburg: though some of them were given later than the time we are now dealing with. The small bay in the west side of Danes Island was called Robbe Bay or Danes Bay. The Danes



called it Copenhagen Bay. Vrolicq called it Port St. Pierre. The little bay in the north coast of the island (modern Virgo Bay) was Houcker Bay. Here stood the "Cookery" of Harlingen. The Sound between Danes and Amsterdam Islands is called West Bay by Van der Brugge; others called it South Bay, or Middel Gat. At the west entrance of the Sound was a submarine bank named Keerens-Kaar, running out from the west corner of Amsterdam Island, near the conical hill named the Beehive. Halfway between Smeerenburg and Houcker Bay lay Deadman's Isle. The curved south front of Smeerenburg was Smeeren Bay. At the east end of it was deep water, so that ships could be moored close to the shore; but the western part of the flat ground was bordered by a reef which Van der Brugge mentions more than once. Van der Brugge also mentions an island "in the mouth" of West Bay, which I cannot surely identify, but will refer to in its place. The north cape of Amsterdam Island is Hakluyt Headland; the island off it Devil Island. In the midst of Amsterdam Island is a snow mountain with three tops, called "Marri met de Brosten" by Martens (1671). Its south or south-east slopes are Van der Brugge's West Salad Hill, and its north slope or north-east slope his North Salad Hill. His South Salad Hill, likewise on Amsterdam Island, was further west than the West Salad Hill.

The north exit from Mauritius Bay was called the North Bay or Gat. Laage Hook (Low'point) is the extreme north-west angle of the mainland. Beyond it comes Zealand Bay, with a number of islands in it called the Archipelago, and north of them a group of four islands: Vogelsang, Cloven Cliff, the Zealand outlook (Outer Norway Island), and Goose Island (Inner Norway Island). East of Zealand Bay are three headlands close together. One of these was Van der Brugge's Alabaster Hook. The great bay beyond (Red Bay) was called Red-Cliff Sound

by the English, Monier Bay by the Dutch; this is Van der Brugge's Manjer Bay. The east point of this bay is the Point Welcome of the English, the Biscayers Hook of the Dutch (wrongly marked on modern charts). Beyond that comes Broad Bay, with Red-Beach within it, and the reindeer hunting ground inland.

At the time with which we are concerned, all the Dutch whaling ships belonged to and were set forth by the Noordsche Company, which had a monopoly of the trade in Holland. This company's Privilege or Charter was renewed in 1633. At the very beginning of the industry in Holland it was mainly an Amsterdam venture, but at each renewal of the Charter stipulation was made for the admission of representatives of other towns. Each town had a Chamber or Committee, and the united Chambers formed the company. The older Chambers had larger shares and better stations than those that were admitted later. Amsterdam was the largest and oldest Chamber. On Spitsbergen each Chamber had its own tents, mooring-places, coppers, coolers, warehouses, cooperages, and so forth. The Amsterdam Chamber had the best position, and its tents were at the east end of Smeerenburg. From an old chart we learn that the order of the tents from east to west was—Amsterdam, Middelburg, Flushing, the Danes, Delft, and Hoorn; the Danes having from the first been admitted among the Dutch, though they were turned out or quitted shortly after the time we are here concerned with. Enkhuizen had a tent, and Van der Brugge mentions a Veere tent. Veere and Flushing were closely allied, and may have had one tent together, or two close side by side. Behind the tents was a hollow in the ground, which Van der Brugge refers to as The Valley. It seems to have been here that they got their fresh water in the summer time. At spring tides this valley was filled by the sea-water.

Each Chamber seems also to have had a capstan of its own, for hauling in the whales and the ships to their moorings, and for hoisting the blubber and casks. The ships were moored in a row with their sterns to the shore, and room between each for a rowing-boat to pass.

Smeerenburg was supplied with a fort and a chapel. The fort was on part of the ground originally occupied by the Danes. The original burying-place seems to have been Deadman's Island, but the largest number of graves are found west of Smeerenburg, at the foot of the hill behind the broadest part of the south reef. This was Van der Brugge's "churchyard." It lay, he says, between the reef and the mountain. Where the reef came it was impossible to moor ships by the shore, so that the land was valueless for copperies.

From a contemporary English document we learn that, about this time, the Dutch annually sent up about 4,000 tons of shipping to Spitsbergen. This implies twenty ships or upwards. Some ships opened the season at Jan Mayen Island and came on to Spitsbergen later; and some remained at Jan Mayen till they had filled up, then sailed straight home.

The events which led to the wintering described by Van der Brugge were as follows: One Braem, a Copenhagen Dane, who had a right to a place at Smeerenburg, took two Biscay ships of St. Jean de Luz into partnership with him, and proposed in 1632 to introduce them to Smeerenburg, under his Danish rights. Another Biscay whaler, named Vrolicq, also came up with two ships under agreement with the Danes. The Dutch Commander promptly compelled the Biscay ships to depart. Vrolicq went to Iceland, and confined himself to protests and negotiations. Whither Braem's Biscayers went we are not informed; perhaps to Biscayers' Hook. At all events, when the Dutch had returned home, Braem visited Jan Mayen Island, at the end of

August. There "they landed, and took, pillaged, and stole a very great quantity of train-oil, many thousands of pieces of whalebone, and other utensils; also broke up the huts and stone houses, ruined many utensils, destroyed a number of shallops, which they set adrift in the sea; and, in fine, ravaged and damaged the Dutch Company, whose merchandise and equipment had been left there as in their own warehouse, where up till then they had experienced no such ill-treatment. The Biscayers filled their ships with the plunder, carried it off to France, and sold it at Rouen and elsewhere."<sup>1</sup>

The news of this outrage soon reached Holland, and caused much perturbation and debate in the Chambers of the whaling company, we may be sure. Obviously, to guard against a repetition of it in future, the only thing to do was to colonise both Jan Mayen and Smeerenburg permanently. Pellham's recent experience proved that men could live through an Arctic winter and retain their health. It was decided to follow his involuntary example. Fourteen men were, accordingly, enlisted: seven for Jan Mayen and seven for Spitsbergen. They were sent up with the ships for the season of 1633, but they were not to come home with them. The new charter of the Dutch company recites this intention to colonise. It states how "for the maintenance and service of the whaling industry and fishery, they had built, at great cost, forts, houses, and warehouses, for dwelling and protection, so as to put the fact of their possession beyond reach of question; and how, the more certainly to maintain the same against all foreign nations and others, they had especially and extraordinarily, at great expense, fitted out some ships with men and all things needful, and had left them to dwell and overwinter in Spitsbergen and Mauritius (Jan Mayen)

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Müller's *Noordsche Compagnie*, pp. 406-413.

**Twee Journalen /**  
Het Eerste gehouden by de Seven  
**MATROOSEN,**

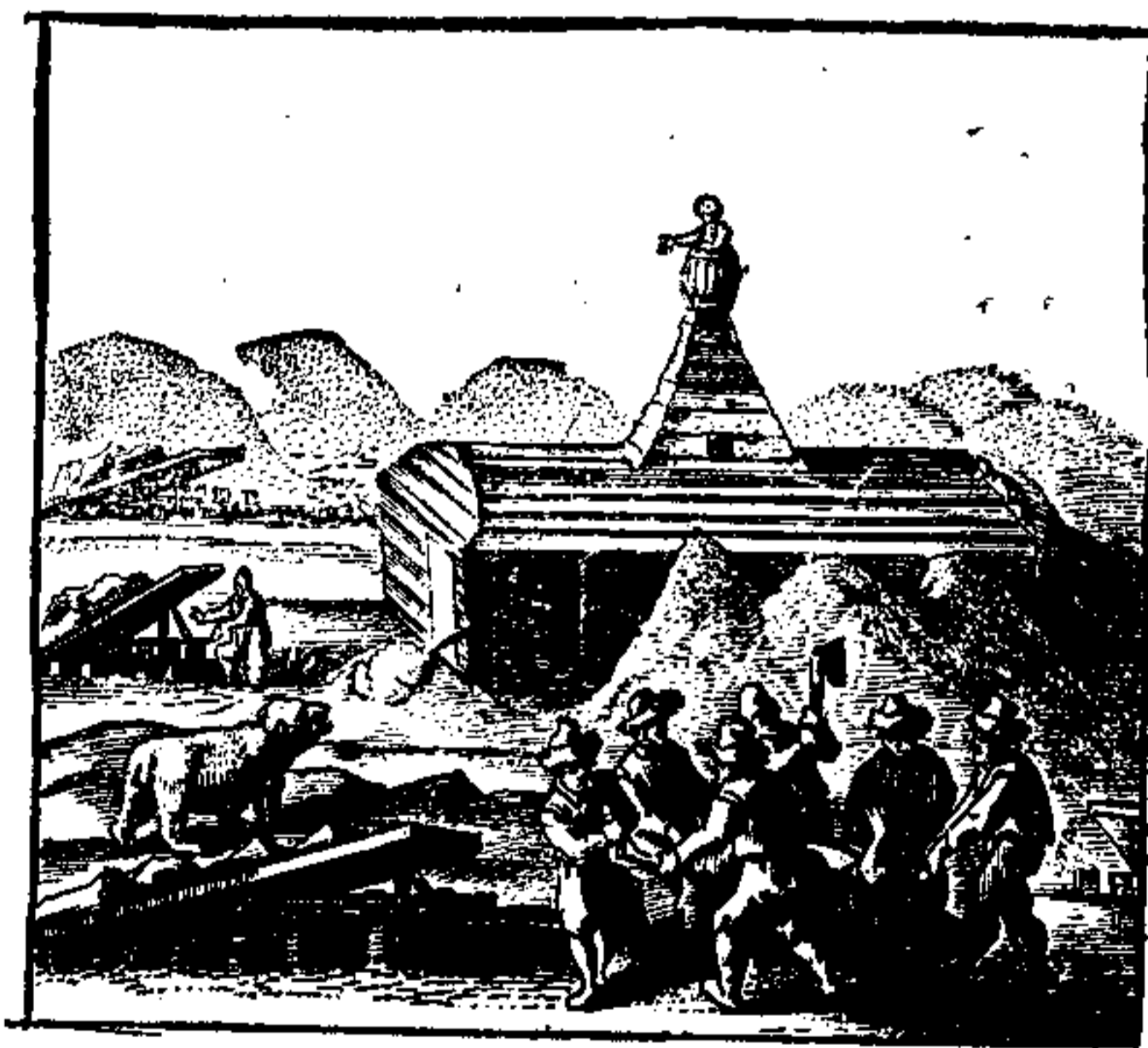
Op het

**Eylant Mauritijs / in Groenlandt /**  
In den Jare 1633. en 1634. in haer Overwinteren / doch  
sijn al t' samen gestorven: En het tweede gehouden by de Seven

**MATROOSEN, die op Spitsbergen**

Zijn Overwintert / en aldaer ghestorven / in den Jare 1634.

Verhalende de Wonderheden van de Beeren, Walvisschen, onlydelijcke  
Koude, Storm-winden en lange Nachten, die zy hebben geleden.



AMSTERDAM, Gedruckt

By **GILLIS JOOSTEN SAEGHMAN**, in de Nieuwe-Stract /  
Ordinaris Drucker van de Journalen der Zee- en Landt-Reysen.

[British Museum copy, 10057. dd. 50. (14.)]

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SER. II. VOL. XI. 1904.



Island, in order to keep a continuous occupation of those places."<sup>1</sup>

We are not here concerned with the fortunes or misfortunes of the Jan Mayen winterers. They all died, leaving behind them a pathetic journal, which was published under the following title :—"Twee Journalen, Het Eerste gehouden by de Seven Matroosen, Op het Eylandt Mauritius, in Groenlandt, In den Jare 1633 en 1634 in haer Overwinteren, doch sijn al t'samen gestorven: En het tweede gehouden by de Seven Matroosen, die op Spitsbergen Zijn Overwintert, en aldaer ghestorven, in den Jare 1634." Amsterdam (Saeghman), s.d. (1635) 4to. English translations of this book are printed in Churchill's *Collection of Voyages*, vol. ii, and in Pinkerton's *Collection*, vol. i. The second journal in the above book is not that of Van der Brugge of 1633-4, but of the seven sailors who wintered and died at Spitsbergen in the following winter, 1634-5, a translation of which is printed in the present volume.

Van der Brugge's Journal was published separately. It was entitled: "Journael of Dagh-Register, gehouden by Seven Matroosen, In haer Overwinteren op Spitsbergen in Maurits-bay, Gelegen in Groenlandt, t'zedert het vertreck van de Visſchery-Schepen de Geoctroyeerde Noordtsche Compagnie, in Nederlandt, zijnde den 30 Augusty, 1633, tot de wederkomst der voosz. Schepen, den 27. May, Anno 1634. Beschreven door den Bevelhebber Jacob Segersz. van der Brugge." Amsterdam (Saeghman) s.d. (1634). 4to.<sup>2</sup>

The publisher of the two volumes of journals seems to have confused them together himself, for to the second edition of Van der Brugge's Journal he gave the following

<sup>1</sup> See *Zorgdrager* (German edition), pp. 217-224.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Tiele's bibliographical *Memoire*, p. 277. The first edition of Van der Brugge's book is 10460, *bbb.* 10, in the British Museum library. The 2nd edition is 10460, *bbb.* 13.



title, which is evidently wrongly taken from the other book: "Twee Journalen Yeder gehouden by Seven Maetroosen, In haer Overwinteren op Spitsbergen, Gelegen in Groenlant, t'zedert het vertreck van de Visschery-Schepen der Geoctroyeerde Noortsche Compagnie, in Nederlant, zijnde den 30 Augusty, 1633, tot de wederkomst der voorsz Schepen, den 27. May, 1634. Welcke Maets doen zijn afgelost, en seven andere vrywillige daer op gebleven, doch dese zijn al t'samen gestorven." Beschreven door den Opper-bevelhebber Jacob Segersz. van der Brugge. t'Amsterdam, By Gillis Joosten Zaagman, in de Nieuwe-straet. Ordinaris Drucker van de Journalen ter Zee-en Landtreysen." This volume, however, does not contain two journals but only one, and is practically a reprint of the first edition.

The fact that the seven men left at Spitsbergen all survived, whilst the men at Jan Mayen died, led to the erroneous conclusion that the winter climate of Spitsbergen was healthier than that of Jan Mayen. Accordingly, it was found easy to enlist another seven to spend the winter of 1634-5 at Smeerenburg, whereas Jan Mayen was abandoned. The new party settled down in the Middelburg hut, "provided with all manner of necessaries." If they had hunted reindeer as soon as the ships had sailed away, they would no doubt have preserved their health as well as their predecessors; but they seem to have been lazy. Before long scurvy attacked them, and by the end of February all were dead. Their Journal was only published in an abbreviated form, and does not contain much local information. The translation here reprinted is taken from pp. 359, 360, vol. ii, of "A Collection of Voyages and Travels, some Now first Printed from Original Manuscripts, others Now first Published in English. In Six Volumes . . . . The Third Edition. London. Printed by Assignment from Messrs. Churchill, for Henry Lintot and

John Osborn, at the Golden-Ball in Pater-noster Row.  
MDCCXLIV."

It is unfortunate that we possess no account of a summer season at Smeerenburg in its great days. All the stories of its frequentation by thousands of sailors and other workmen, of its numerous buildings, its industrial activity, were written down long after the place had been abandoned. We do not even know for certain when the abandonment took place. The following account of the doings of some sailors during a few days at Smeerenburg in 1639 is, therefore, worth translation. The men were survivors from shipwreck. They went up in a whaler from Hoorn. Having safely approached Spitsbergen, their ship was crushed in the ice, and most of the crew lost their lives. The survivors, after many adventures, were taken on board another Dutch ship, whereof Gale Hamkes was skipper. The only part of the story which concerns us is the conclusion, which runs as follows:—

"On the 27th [of June, 1639] they put our upper boatswain overboard close before the West Bay, which was still full of ice, and we were therefore obliged to put out to sea again. Meanwhile we continued to improve, and by God's mercy came again to our former state of health, except that one of the men lost a piece of his big toe.

"On the 4th July we came into the West Bay; the sloops of Gale Hamkes then brought us to our tents, where we at once set to work and got ready our three shallops with all their accessories, wherewith we afterwards still caught three whales.

"On the 26th our one sea-fisher came to us in the Bay, with a good quantity of blubber.

"On the 22nd August our second sea-fisher also came to us in the Bay, with his ship full of blubber, whereat we were very glad; we then divided our men on the two ships, and got ready to depart again.

"On the 30th we sailed thence for home.

"On the 23rd September we arrived in the Vlie.

"On the 24th we arrived before Hoorn; the Lord be praised and glorified for His mercy which He bestowed upon us in such manifest peril! The Lord grant that we may henceforth show our gratitude for this by a holy life! Amen."

We thus learn that, in 1639, Hoorn sent up three ships to the Spitsbergen whale-fishery, whereof two, described as "sea-fishers," were to hunt whales in the open sea, whilst only one was to go to Smeerenburg. The "sea-fishers" flensed their whales at sea, and only came to Mauritius Bay at the close of the season. But Smeerenburg was not yet abandoned. The Hoorn men went to their regular establishment, where they found three whale-boats and all necessaries for the bay-fishery. They killed three whales from the old base.

The account is taken from a pamphlet, entitled: "Journael ofte Beschrijvinge van de reyse ghedaen by den Com-mandeur Dirck Albertsz. Raven, nae Spitsberghen, in den Jare 1639, ten dienste van de C. Heeren Bēwindt-hebbers van de Groenlandtsche Campagnie tot Hoorn. Waer in verhaelt wordt sijn droevighe Schip-brencke sijn ellende op't wrack, en sijn blijde verlossinge. Met noch eenighe ghedenckweerdige Historien. Alles waerdigh om te lesen. Tot Hoorn, Gedruckt by Isaac Willemsz. Voor Jan Jansz. Deutel, Boeck-verkooper op't Oost in Biestkens Testament. Anno 1646."

The story was popular, and more than one edition of it was issued.



# JOURNAEL, Of Dagh-Register / gehouden by Seven MATROOSEN,

In haer Overwinteren op

## Spitsbergen in Maurits-Bay/

Gelegen in Groenlandt, t' zedert het vertreck van de Visschery-  
Schepen der Geoctroyeerde Noordtsche Compagnie, in Nederlandt,  
zijnde den 30. Augusty, 1633. tot de wederkomst der voorz. Schepen, den  
27. May, Anno 1634.

*Beschreven door den Bevelhebber*

**JACOB SEGERSZ. van der BRUGGE.**



AMSTERDAM, Gedruckt

By **GILLIS JOOSTEN SAEGHMAN**, in de Nieuwe-Stract /  
Ordinaris Drucker van de Journalen der Zee- en Landt-Reysen.

[British Museum copy, 10057. dd. 50. (13.)]

Reproduced for the Hakluyt Society by D. Macbeth.

SER. II. VOL. XI. 1904.

# JOURNAL OR DAY-BOOK

KEPT BY

## SEVEN SAILORS

DURING THEIR WINTERING ON

### Spitsbergen in Mauritius Bay,

SITUATED IN GREENLAND,

From the departure of the Fishing-Vessels of the  
Chartered Northern Company, in the Nether-  
lands, on August 30, 1633, until the  
return of the aforesaid Vessels  
on May 27, 1634.

WRITTEN BY THE COMMANDER,

JACOB SEGERSZ. VAN DER BRUGGE.

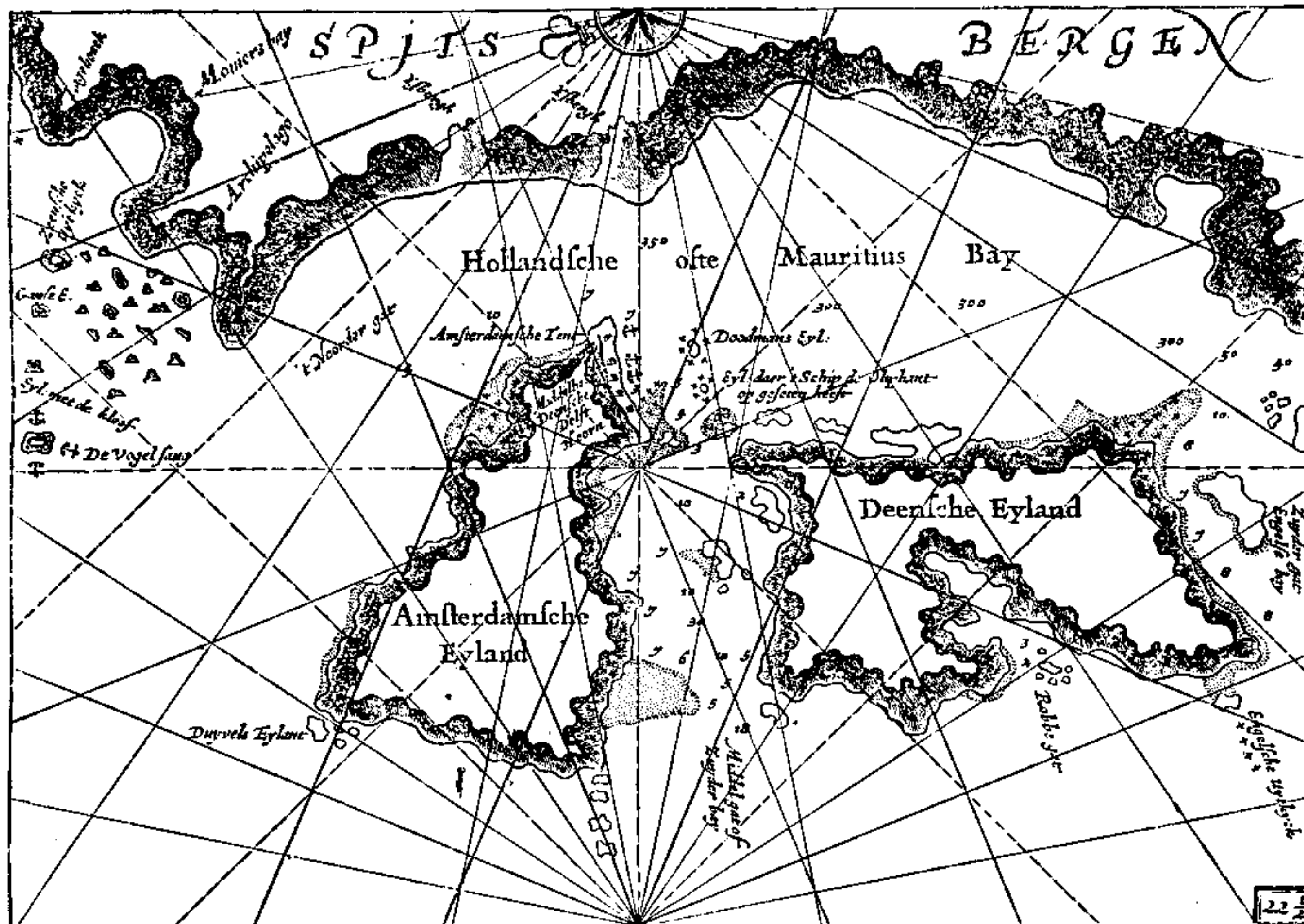
PRINTED AT AMSTERDAM,

BY GILLIS JOOSTEN SAEGHMAN, IN THE NIEUWE STRAET,  
GENERAL PRINTER OF THE JOURNALS OF SEA AND LAND VOYAGES.

[Translated from the copy in the British Museum by  
J. A. J. DE VILLIERS.]



# De Hollantsche ofte Maurits-Bay.



Reproduced for the Hakluyt Society  
by the Camb. Univ. Press

Ser. II. Vol. II. 1904

From HENDRICK DONCKER'S "De Lichtende Columne"





TO THE  
**Noble Sirs, the Directors of the**  
Chartered Northern Company in the  
Netherlands.

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HEREAS, dearly beloved Sirs, you, as provident merchants, always alive to your interests, eager to extend the limits of your trade, and, if it be possible, to double your revenues, were pleased, after deliberation, conjointly to decide that you would employ in your service some sailors who offered themselves for that purpose to winter upon the Island of Mauritius<sup>1</sup> in Greenland, as well as on Spitzbergen in Mauritius Bay, whither your Honours' trade extends, carefully to observe all that should occur during the period of their stay there, and daily commit it to writing, so that one might be able to conclude therefrom whether it were possible to frequent these hitherto

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<sup>1</sup> The Island of Mauritius was the official Dutch name in the seventeenth century for the island now known as Jan Mayen. Mauritius Bay was the official name of the bay at the north-west corner of Spitzbergen, between the mainland and Amsterdam and Danes islands. On old charts this bay is also called Hollandsche Bay. For details of the nomenclature of the bay, see the Introduction. The name Greenland was vaguely used at this time to include the Arctic lands frequented by the whalers. It did not include Novaja Zemlja.

desert and uninhabited places to the real service and advantage of your Honours' Company :

We, therefore, accompanied by these following persons :

Jan Hendriksz. Kunst, of Zierikzee, cooper ;

Alef Willemsz., from Gelderland, cook ;

Kersten Andriesz., of Frederickstadt ;

Maerten Jacobsz. Tandel, of Dantzic ;

Adriaen Rutten Goud, from the land of Goes, carpenter ;

Marcus Pouwelsz., of Amsterdam ;

as is known to your Honours, remained on the land of Spitsbergen, setting down faithfully, and according to our ability, all our experiences, in accordance with the bounden duty imposed upon us. But since the not very happy adventures of the seven Greenlanders,<sup>1</sup> as well as our experiences, have not only been handed to your Honours in writing, but have also been made common to the service of all interested persons, and as a memorial by publication—We, therefore, have in nowise been able to keep back our relation, but have been obliged honestly to yield to the desire expressed for it. Before entering upon the relation itself, it did not seem inexpedient to us (since, according to my knowledge, little or nothing has hitherto been written thereof that is true) to preface it with a brief account of the nature and locality of those lands, and to communicate to others ignorant of them the facts relating thereto known to us.

Greenland, being by no means green, and probably named by the rule of contrary, though it should more fitly be Greyland, because it is grey and gruesome, is called by others Engroeneland, Gronland, Grunlandia, Gronia, and Jan Mayen or Jan Muyen Island, because he,

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<sup>1</sup> This refers to the wintering and death of the seven men on

having come from Muyen, is said to have discovered it.<sup>1</sup> It has been navigated some two or three and twenty years by Netherlanders,<sup>2</sup> and is about 18 miles in circumference. It is situated to the W. nearest opposite Iceland (which island in  $65^{\circ} 44'$  N. latitude, being also desert and abandoned, was first inhabited by the Norwegians in the year 874), in  $71\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  N. latitude, and was unknown to Ptolemy (whose knowledge and diligence in describing the world were surpassed by none of the ancients), who knew of no countries in the N. beyond the 63rd degree, under the altitude of the Pole, where Thule was placed and computed last; and as was the case in the S., with all that lay beyond the 16th degree S. latitude, in the E. with all beyond the 180th degree, and in the W. with all beyond Spain and the Fortunate Isles. It lies about 149 or 150 miles from Spitsbergen, and the course from the said island to Mauritius Bay is N.N.E., or even easterly. There is no timber, nor are there any trees, except such as, being uprooted by storm, wind, or any other hazard, drift thither from Norway or the adjacent countries. The sun makes its last appearance there in the

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<sup>1</sup> Van der Brugge seems to have been very badly informed about the doings of his predecessors in the north, even only a few years before. Jan Mayen Island was always being "discovered" in the early days of northern exploration. A list of these so-called discoveries is given by Müller (*Noordsche Compagnie*, p. 188). Hudson sighted it first in 1607 on his way back from Spitsbergen. He called it Hudson's Touches, and that name is frequently found in English records down to the end of the seventeenth century. In 1611 Thomas Marmaduke of Hull appears to have sighted it, and for this reason the Jan Mayen fishery was given to the Hull men by James I. They named it Trinity Island, a name that likewise frequently occurs in English records for many years. In 1612 the French whaler, Jean Vrolicq, claimed to have discovered it; he named it l'Isle de Richelieu. Finally, in 1614, a Dutch ship, with the pilot Joris Carolus on board, saw it and claimed it as a new discovery. Jan Jacobsz. May was the skipper, and the island takes its modern name from him. Later Dutch writers confound him with another skipper, Jan Cornelisz. May.

<sup>2</sup> Dutch whalers cannot be said to have frequented the island till after 1614. Three ships are recorded as having been there on discovery in 1614 and two in 1615. In 1616 nine Dutch whalers went there for the fishery (see S. Müller, *Noordsche Co.*, p. 109).

southern horizon on the 16th or 17th of November, and hides its lovely face, causing a grievous continual night, until the same again appears on the horizon, which is the 26th or 27th of January. It is provided with no other denizens than snow-white bears, foxes, and sometimes a few birds. The Kings of Denmark have hitherto assumed dominion over the unknown strands by right of adjacency. The country is turned to most account for whale-fishing by the English, French, Biscayans, Danes, and especially by the Dutch.

Spitsbergen has been longer navigated by the Dutch than Greenland, and so named after the discoverer of the country,<sup>1</sup> or on account of the mountain peaks which rise up before those who approach it from the sea, though some, it appears, call it the New Land. It lies in 80° 3' N. latitude. Whether it is an island, or part of a continent, is still unknown. Reindeer—or, rather, rein-calves—are found there, very hot by nature, having the shape and size of a calf, and horns like deer, but very rough and tender. If they knock them, they bleed.<sup>2</sup> The presumption is that there are indeed some bushy spots in the interior of the country, straying whence, in their search for food, they get cut off by the quantity of snow, lose their trail, and approach the shore.<sup>3</sup> It is also inhabited by foxes, some birds, and snow-

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<sup>1</sup> Here Van der Brugge suggests that Spitsbergen was named after Spilbergen. His reference to Spilbergen below (ten lines from the end of this Introduction) shows that that was his intention. Spilbergen never came to Spitsbergen. The name was given by Barents, the real discoverer, in 1596.

<sup>2</sup> The horns of the reindeer were in velvet during the whale-fishing season.

<sup>3</sup> Reindeer at that time were far more numerous in Spitsbergen than they have become of late years, owing to the persistent hunting of them by Norwegians from Tromsö and Hammerfest. In the summer the reindeer used to spread all over the islands, but it is probable that in winter they collected mainly in the great valleys of the middle region leading out of Ice and Bell Sounds. Another great stretch of relatively fertile country is along the west side of Edge Island, and here the reindeer are said to have gathered towards the close of the summer.

white bears, who also breed there, living both in the sea and on land. The sun shines there for the last time on the southern horizon the 21st or 22nd of October, and it is continually night until the 20th or 21st of February. It was, however, not seen by us above the mountains until the 28th of February, though we saw the shadow, as well as the reflection, on the side of the mountain in the N.W. The Kings of Denmark claim the sovereignty here in the same manner as above. It is also mostly famous for the fishery of whales, which make their appearance thereabouts in great numbers, as is more fully described in this Journal. The sea near these countries and throughout the N. is called Oceanus Hyperboreas by the people living on the furthest shores of the N.; likewise Mare Cronium, because Saturn, a cold planet, is said to rule in these places. For the same reason it is also called Concretum and Amalchim, which formerly meant frozen in the language of that people, and Morimarusa (signifying a dead sea), on account of the long darkness and the exiled aspect of milder constellations. Tacitus calls it a slothful and almost immovable sea, as has also been well observed by others. This region has undoubtedly in nowise been well known, as is testified by the Latin poet Lucan, in writing of the first ship-building; and when there was also written in ancient times on the Pillars of Hercules: "No further;" by which was made known that beyond these no shores, but an almost endless sea, was to be found. It may be that the same were of copper, twelve feet high, near the City of Gadir, now Cadiz, in Spain, or mountains that looked like pillars from afar to those approaching them, the one on the furthest coast of Europe, on the left; the other on the extreme limit of Africa, on the right. In the days of our forefathers the world was probably first circumnavigated by Americus, Draco, and Candischi; in our time by Oliverio a Nörd, Schoutenius, the afore-



mentioned Spilbergen, and l'Heremite.<sup>1</sup> But, as far as we know, no one has been able, combating Nature, to penetrate so far to the N., although it has been attempted several times, both by Englishmen and Netherlanders, driven back by the intense cold and the strong pressure of the ice. Fearing, however, to lead your Honours further than is necessary, and to detain you by devious paths well known to you, I will now heartily beg your Honours to accept, with our gratitude, this description of ours—such as it is—now revealed to all.

JACOB SEGERSZ. VAN DER BRUGGE.

<sup>1</sup> Americus.—Amerigo Vespucci, 1451-1512, Florentine navigator. In his honour Martin Waldseemüller gave the name of America to the New World in his famous map of 1507, and in his *Cosmographiæ Introductio*, *St. Dié*, 1507, which also contains the Letters of Vespucci (see Hakluyt Society, Series I, vol. xc).

Draco.—Sir Francis Drake, 1540-1596, circumnavigator and Admiral. Died off Portobello, West Indies, 1596 (see Hakluyt Society, Ser. I, vol. iv. *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, vol. xv, p. 426).

Candischius.—Thomas Cavendish, 1560-1592, circumnavigator. Died at sea near St. Helena, June, 1592 (see *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, vol. ix, p. 358).

Oliverio a Nord.—Olivier van Noort, native of Utrecht, commanded the third Dutch expedition round the world, 1598-1601, through the Straits of Magellan and along the west coast of America and Manilla. He arrived at Rotterdam in August, 1601.

Schoutenius.—Willem Schouten commanded the *Horn*, 110 tons, in the Dutch Expedition to Magellan's Straits, in June, 1615. On January 31st, 1616, he rounded Cape Horn, named after his native place in W. Friesland.

Spilbergen.—Joris van Spilbergen was Admiral of the Dutch East India Company's fleet to the Moluccas in 1614-1616 (see A. J. Van Der Aa's *Biogr. Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, Deel. 17, p. 912. 1874).

l'Heremite.—Jacques L'Hermite, Dutch Admiral, sailed to the East Indies through the Straits of Magellan in 1623, in command of the Nassau fleet (see A. J. Van Der Aa, Deel. 14, p. 399. 1865).







## JOURNAL.

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KEPT by Seven Sailors in the country of Spitsbergen, in the Bay of Mauritius, situated in N. latitude of  $80^{\circ} 3'$ ,<sup>1</sup> from the departure of the fishing vessels of the Chartered Northern Company of the Netherlands, being the 30th August, 1633, to the return of the said vessels on the 27th May, 1634.

### *August.*

On the 30th August, in the year 1633 after the birth of Christ, after an honourable farewell, the ships weighed anchor and set out to sea from the North Bay with a N.E. wind. The Lord grant them a happy and prosperous arrival; and, further, all that tends to the Company's best advantage and the happiness of us all! During the night the fleet passed the West Bay.

The 31st of the said month, the wind as before, with incessant driving snow. As the foul weather prevented us from rowing out, we put our tent<sup>2</sup> in order, and the store of

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<sup>1</sup> The true latitude of Smeerenburg is  $79^{\circ} 45'$  N.

<sup>2</sup> The abodes of the whalers on shore are always called "tents" by them at this time, doubtless because originally actual tents were set up. The nature of the building which the winterers inhabited can be accurately realised from the print of it, here reproduced, and the

provisions in the magazine. In the afternoon we got some gulls, which were of very good flavour, and which we roasted, with the idea of keeping them good for the approaching winter. On the same day we resolved, in the first place, to use every endeavour to obtain a stock of salad,<sup>1</sup> reindeer flesh, or other things as provision for a rainy day, this course being especially necessary for the preservation of our health; also that every morning and night, before the cook dished up, we should sing a psalm and offer our prayers up to God in order to call down His blessing upon us. In the evening much snow had fallen, whereat we were much grieved, because we feared that this would make it difficult for us to get the salad.

### *September.*

On the 1st of September, the wind being E., and clear weather, we got ready our shallop, in order to go reindeer-hunting after prayers and breakfast, and by such means assure ourselves of having something in stock as provision against the approaching dark, cold winter. But, as we made but little progress, on account of the strong wind and current, we were obliged to land in Zealand Bay,<sup>2</sup> where we dug some firewood out of the ice and made a tent of our shallop-sail resting on five or six oars. We also hacked out of the ice some firewood that had been cast up by the sea, and was already frozen. When the tide went out, we took down our tent and got upon the water, in order to pursue our efforts in a more favourable spot. As the ice

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description of it with which Van der Brugge's pamphlet ends. Apparently this was not one of the main tents belonging to any of the Chambers, but a warmer hut, specially built for wintering. It seems to have been nearest to the Middelburg tent: perhaps between it and the Amsterdam buildings.

<sup>1</sup> By "salad," they mean scurvy-grass and sorrel.

<sup>2</sup> Zealand Bay is the Foul Bay of modern charts. The islands in it were called the Archipelago.

showed itself, we again approached Alabaster Point,<sup>1</sup> where we climbed high up the mountains, and whence we could discern no water, and nothing but ice both on land and at sea; in the neighbourhood of which ice we heard and saw divers great whales; but we considered it inadvisable to engage ourselves in the said ice on such an occasion, and so late in the year, since that would be of no advantage to the Company, and only exposing their design to risk. After we had got wet with rowing, we set our sail, intending to stand out to sea beyond Vogelsang with the N.E. wind. Having about passed Manjer Bay,<sup>2</sup> we got some very severe squalls, with thick mist, so that the aforesaid wind brought down the mast and sail of themselves, whereby we got much water into the shallop. After baling out the water, we again set our sail, which, on account of the squall, again nearly upset the shallop. This caused us to take in the sail and to commence rowing. By reason of the thick mist, we could not perceive the land, nor see where or in the neighbourhood of which bay we were; so that the one said: "We are rowing to sea;" the other: "We are rowing to this;" and yet another: "We are rowing to that bay." In this uncertainty, I gave orders that we should land wherever

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<sup>1</sup> The reindeer hunting-ground was at Red Beach, beyond Biscayers Hook. In trying to get there, they had rowed across the mouth of Zealand Bay, but wind and current prevented them from getting beyond the E. point at its mouth. So they took refuge in the bay, and landed. When the tide went down, they rowed away again to the E., but ice forced them to land at Alabaster Point, which they had approached before. This, therefore, must have been the name of the point east of the entrance to Zealand Bay. I have not found the name mentioned elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> Manjer Bay should be Monier Bay. It was named after Antonie Monier, Commissary-General of the Dutch whaling fleet in 1614. Fotherby, in 1614, had named it Redcliff Sound. This is another instance of Van der Brugge's small acquaintance with the names and doings of his Dutch predecessors, only nineteen years before. Doncker's Sailing Directions, in his Atlas of 1655, state that Monier Bay is dangerous, and seldom visited.

first possible, and await clear weather there. But when it cleared up a little, we found ourselves to be near the North Bay. Being tired and wet, we set all sail, and at night came again, by God's mercy, to our tent; at which we rejoiced greatly.

On the 2nd of the said month, the wind being N.E. and a cloudy sky, we did but little that day, since we spent it mostly in resting. We found a quantity of ice in the Bay, which was mostly caused by the falling of the icebergs;<sup>1</sup> much ice also showed itself before the mouth of the North Bay, rising very high out of the water, like ships with sails. If on that day any Biscayans or other vessels had shown themselves in or near the Bay, we, in order to deceive them, would have kindled fires in all the tents and let smoke ascend from the chimneys, together with the waving of flags and firing of a few shots from the Fort, and would have made a great noise, and also kept a sharp watch upon the number of the nation's ships. In the evening, a whale came into the North Bay, and continued its way to the West Bay.

On the 3rd of the same month, fine, clear weather in the morning, with warm sunshine, which caused the snow to melt again at once. We then fished up a quantity of whalebone, which, at high tide, we hauled up on the beach, it being our intention to clean it at low tide and bring it into safety. On the same day, three or four whales made their appearance in the Bay; the falling of the icebergs continued as before. In the evening the wind veered to the S.W.

On the 4th, wind and weather as before; it was this day arranged that the men should henceforth continually hold

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<sup>1</sup> That is to say, by seracs falling from the fronts of the glaciers ending in Mauritius Bay. It is stated by old writers that the waves caused by these falls used to rock the ships lying moored off Smeerenburg.

the watch in quarters, and keep a sharp look-out in order to be aware what takes place, both by night and day, so that an account thereof may in due time be handed to the Honourable Masters.

On the 5th, wind and weather as before; we therefore rowed in the shallop to the West Bay, in order to see how matters were at sea; also whether there was no dead fish or something that might be of profit; but we found that all the salad had run to seed, and was of no use for eating, and we brought back little with us, which grieved us sore. During the night it began to blow somewhat from the W. and W.N.W.

On the 6th, the wind as before, with fairly clear weather; towards noon calm and still, wherefore we proceeded in our shallop to see whether anything had been cast up that could be of service to us; but perceiving nothing we returned, seeing divers whales upon our way, some of which remained lying very tamely. In coming home we got our shallop ready for fishing, in the following manner. Firstly, we made two casks air-tight, and fastened the hoops and a line to them, after the fashion of buoys, attaching to them about 70 or 80 fathoms of line. These said casks were to be placed in the shallop from which the harpoon was to be shot, being manned with five men, and there was another shallop with two men. In the event of the fish carrying off or rendering the shallop useless, we could then store in the other as much as possible.

On the morning of the 7th, fine weather and clear warm sunshine, with a light wind from the S.W. In the forenoon we again fished up some whale-fins, which we cleaned and brought to a safe place; in the afternoon we sharpened our lances and harpoons, drying what we had already got, and doing all that we deemed proper to get ready for fishing. Outside the North Bay to seaward much ice showed itself; a large number of icebergs also fell, some



with a noise so like thunder that had we been unacquainted with the falling of the said icebergs we would have thought it to be none else than that. Towards evening divers whales showed themselves spouting near the mouth of the North Bay.

On the morning of the 8th, fair weather, with a light wind from the S.W. This morning some seals made their appearance in the bay, but we could not get any. In the afternoon we again rowed out in the shallop to see how matters were at sea, but perceiving nought but a calm we returned, and reached our tent in the evening when the sun was in the W.

The 9th, wind and weather as before, with warm sunshine. Therefore I, with Jan Kunst, Maerten Jacobsz., Kersten Andriesz., and Alef Willensz., rowed together in the shallop to the North Salad mountain,<sup>1</sup> in order to see whether nought was to be got that might serve for profit or refreshment. On rowing out we found a walrus whose head had been cut off in the fishing season for the sake of its teeth, whereof they have two fixed in their upper jaw; these are good ivory, and some of them weigh six, seven, or eight pounds per pair. We brought the aforesaid carcass to land and got about half a cask of fat from it. We then proceeded on our way to the aforesaid North Salad mountain, where we found the salad so extraordinarily good and in such great abundance that it seemed impossible. This salad was in form almost like water-cress, and is not very unlike the same in taste, but it grows in somewhat close hearts of circular shape, which have to be

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<sup>1</sup> Van der Brugge mentions the N., the W. and the South Salad mountains. The North Salad hill was reached either by rowing to the foot of it, or by crossing a glacier. It must therefore have been the northern slope of the island or thereabouts. The West Salad hill was near Smeerenburg, and was probably to the north-west of the tents. The South Salad hill was reached by rowing westward along the south shore of Amsterdam Island. It must have been a south facing slope, somewhere in the direction of the Beehive.



got with much trouble from high up the mountain. Large numbers of gulls collect here annually, by which the vegetation on the mountain is manured, and by such means the salad grows annually, as well as some sorrel, similar in form and taste as at home; we cut a large quantity, with which we were very pleased. The mountain was so close to the coast that we could see many whales out at sea. We reached our tent at night when the sun was about in the N., and placed the salad on a stone floor in another tent, it being our intention (if it please God) to keep the same good till necessity arises or till the winter, and regale ourselves therewith now and then.

The 10th, fine warm weather and a clear sky. About midday I observed something in the North Bay emerging very high from the water, which we thought to be a dead whale; we therefore rowed towards it with the shallop, and found it to be a stone rock. On the same day we baked our first batch of seventeen or eighteen loaves, each loaf being about two lbs., and it turned out very well.

On the 11th, wind and weather as before, wherefore we resolved amongst ourselves to make another expedition to the plain<sup>1</sup> for the purpose of hunting reindeer. As it was very calm the men had to take to the oars; towards evening they landed at Biscay Point, where, getting high up on the mountains they could, strange to say, see no ice except far out to sea. They decided to proceed to the appointed place. Early in the night they reached the aforesaid plain; tired from rowing, they pitched the tent and first lay down

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<sup>1</sup> This plain is the "Rheenevelt" of the old charts, such as Doncker's map of 1655. It is the flat ground within Red Beach, the shore of Broad Bay; it stretched inland as far as the W. shore of Wiche Sound (Liefde Bay), and was a favourite reindeer hunting-ground of the whalers—the nearest place where reindeer were numerous within reach of Smeerenburg. A few reindeer visited Amsterdam Island, Vogelsang, and other islands, in the spring and summer, but the great herds were only found on the large, relatively fertile, plains.

to rest, excepting one who kept watch, in order that they might not be surprised by the ice or by wild beasts. With regard to Mauritius Bay, nothing in particular happened to us.

On the 12th, wind and weather as before. In the morning, when the sun stood about E., the hunters set out, and divided themselves into two parties, each accompanied by a dog. The one party got three reindeer, one of which had to be carried four miles, the second three, and the last a mile and a-half. These reindeer have to have their entrails taken out at once, or they would soon be spoilt; two of them were as large as calves, but the third was a young animal. As the wind was beginning to blow hard from the E., and they saw the ice fast approaching, they were compelled to strike the tent and put out to sea in the shallop; since it began to blow harder and the sea to be very rough they would have been glad to land again, but they durst not return to their camp on account of the heavy surf, nor take in their sail in order to escape the rough seas, for the helmsman had to be constantly warned to keep the vessel's head to windward, else they had been submerged. In the Archipelago and Manjer Bay they saw divers whales. I was also told that a man named Alef Willemsz. saw a thunderbolt<sup>1</sup> come down upon an iceberg in Manjer Bay, and remain thereon some time, and afterwards disappear.

On the 13th, the wind E.S.E.; this morning, God be praised and thanked, the hunters returned, bringing with them the three aforesaid reindeer, which we hacked into pieces and washed with vinegar, and having strewn pepper over them, hung up on nails in the tent where our salad was, intending thus to preserve them frozen until the

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<sup>1</sup> To what kind of a meteoric phenomenon this refers we cannot say. Thunder and lightning have not been authentically recorded in Spitsbergen.

winter or as necessity demanded, in order then to regale ourselves somewhat therewith. This morning we saw many whales outside the North Bay. About midday we rowed as far as Vogelsang, where we thought we had seen a dead whale, but found it to be a piece of ice. In the evening the wind grew strong, with showers.

The 14th, in the morning calm foggy weather, but when the sun was in the N.E. it suddenly cleared. I saw something near the Archipelago, emerging high out of the water; I, therefore, awoke my companions out of their bunks in order to hear their opinion. Some said it was a dead whale, others that it was a large piece of ice; wherefore I and five others proceeded thither in the shallop in order to ascertain what it might be. We found it to be a large female whale, just dead, and in it we found no lance or harpoon, and not even a sign of one, so that we opined it had been killed by a sword- or fin-fish. Having examined it well we endeavoured, the six of us, to tow the said whale out of the current of the Archipelago, but after long rowing we found we had drifted further out to sea; wherefore we were obliged to leave the said whale, and hasten to the tent for more tackle and our seventh man, for by reason of the depth we could not make the whale fast to an anchor, but had to let it drift at God's will. When the sun stood about S.E. we again came up with the whale, which had drifted further to sea. Since we found that the stream was still running strong towards the N., we laid the whale at anchor with about fifty or sixty fathoms of line, whilst we waited for the tide. Meanwhile we cut off the whale's tail, which we estimated to be about twenty-seven or twenty-eight feet wide. The tide having run out, we loosened the whale and all began to row together. After we had been rowing for ten or twelve hours we found that we had again drifted quite half a mile out to sea; indeed, we came to the conclusion that without the help of the wind

it would not be possible to get the whale to land with so few men. As the night began to fall, with fog, we again laid it at anchor and awaited God's pleasure, returning to our tent, where, having arrived, I had a sharp look-out kept whether there might not chance to come some capful or other of wind in our favour, so that we might hasten thither as speedily as possible, and put forth every endeavour.

The 15th, the wind from the S., with frost, fog, and continual drift-snow. - We could, therefore, not see the whale; but it was undoubtedly still lying there. After our evening meal, it cleared up somewhat. I, therefore, let my companions row together to the whale; for, since the winds here blow differently in one place from what they do in another, which I trow to be due to the uneven heights of the mountains, I let them do so, in the hope of a capful of wind, by which it might be possible to row to some secure part of the low coast out of the open sea; as also that there was then less risk of encountering a storm. Whilst the anchor was being lifted, the wind began to blow so strong from the S., accompanied by fog, that two or three times the shallop was very near going straight to the bottom: by reason that every sea constantly beat over her, and we thereby got much water in. We also found that the whale, having been left at anchor the day before, had dragged it and drifted further to sea; wherefore we, fearing a shelving bottom, let drop another anchor for security, and some fathoms of line, trusting that the whale would ride easier. Since the men had to pull against a rough sea with the shallop, they could not make our tent. Fearing, however, to be carried out to sea, they were compelled to land in another place: for they could no longer manage the shallop on the water, the same having been rendered almost defenceless by the surf near the land; and only with great

trouble did they drag it ashore, and await there better weather. For awhile I stood there alone on the land, looking at the terrible weather, and seeing no sign of them. What my feelings were, God knows! Late in the night they arrived, with great joy and thanking God, and came into the tent.

On the 16th, the storm continued from the S.W., with constant fog, and sometimes drift-snow. In the afternoon the wind rose still higher, with clear weather, so that we did not doubt about being still able to see the whale. Early in the evening it again became very foggy. We also found that some days the fog increased again towards night.

The 17th, wind and weather as before, with little frost. On the same day there was so high a flood-tide, with a full moon, that the water covered the valley<sup>1</sup> at the back of our tent, and approached within seven or eight feet of the latter. When we found the water to be at its highest, we made the sun out to be about S.W. With regard to the whale, we are afraid that the same will not ride out this extraordinary gale of wind; but we decided that, as soon as the weather and the wind permitted anything being done, we would proceed thither as quickly as possible, and employ every means that might be found possible and advantageous. To-day we set up a small cloth flag before our tent, in order to be more certain of the state of the wind.

On the 18th, the wind continued, with fog, frost, and incessant drift-snow, which had now continued some days: whereby the snow has much increased in depth.

On the 19th, the weather and wind as before. In the

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<sup>1</sup> This valley seems to have been a hollow place behind the low shingle ridge on which the tents were built. Some large pools appear to occupy the eastern mouth of it at the present day, but the land has somewhat risen, so that the tides do not now invade the land at this point



afternoon the weather became very calm, and the wind blew from the N.; wherefore we all got into our shallop, being well provided with victuals, in order to be able to stay out for four or five days, to be spent on the land nearest the whale, and find out for certain what had happened to the latter. But to our sorrow, on arriving at the place where we had left it, we did not find it: which led us to look about and see whether we could find the same stranded somewhere, rowing a good stretch in the archipelago, so that we could see the sea between Vogelsang and the other islands; but not perceiving anything, we again made for our tent, which we reached in foggy weather early in the night.

On the 20th, there was a strong N.E. wind, with cold weather and frost. On the same day the cold manifested itself in the fingers of one of our comrades (named Jan Kunst), which we considered to have been caused by our last journey to the whale. We poulticed the fingers with sap of trees, and washed them with water and vinegar in equal quantities; also with olive oil and No. 4 oil—all according to the list given us by various surgeons. The said Kunst also got a great blood-sore on each arm, so that his arms became thickly swollen, and gave him great pain. I employed our list as before. We prayed that God would grant him a happy issue, and preserve us from graver ills. On the same day, in the evening, the moon being twenty days old and  $2^{\circ}$  in Aries, we saw her for the first time above the mountains. We made it out to be S.E. by S., and it remained visible until the sun appeared next day.

On the 21st, the wind S.E., and sunshine, and not very cold. Coming up the valley this morning, where we usually got our fresh water, we found it hard-frozen and entirely covered with thick ice. In the afternoon the wind rose again, with fog, frost, and incessant drift-snow; wherefore we saw no moon.



On the 22nd, the wind N.E., with fog and drift-snow. Since we found that in melting the snow for cooking-water, refreshment, and other purposes, we used about two and a-half quarters of coal per week, whilst we had been allowed no more than thirty quarters for nine months, we were compelled to look for more coal in the other tents; and in the event of our not having found any, we should have been compelled to strip our tents betimes and set to work. But according to what was already apparent, it was not advisable to wait until the time we should require the coal in the dark, cold winter, since it could not then be done without great danger and trouble. On the same day, I found that most of Jan Kunst's fingers began to fester, some of which I opened somewhat with my penknife, and pressed the dirty matter out from under the nails; so that the said Kunst, through all the straining both in his fingers and arms, nearly swooned with pain. In the night the wind rose high, with snow.

On the 23rd, the wind was N.E., with fog, frost, and drift-snow. In the early night it cleared up a bit, so that the moon and a few stars became visible.

On the 24th, the wind as before, with clear weather. In the afternoon a strong wind, with drift-snow and frost. We got ready a few adjoining tents, in order to be able to go from one to the other, where our coals and our other provisions were stored.

On the 25th, the weather and wind as before. We found that, by reason of the N. wind, that had now been blowing some days, divers pieces of ice had made their appearance near the mouth of the North Bay. Early in the night I was awakened from my sleep by the said Kunst, who was suffering insupportable pain in his fingers. At his request, I opened them with my penknife, for want of other instruments, from the first joint to the tips, and found some matter at the bone; from which I presumed

it to be whitlow, and employed remedies according to our list.

On the 26th, the wind as before, with severe frost, whereby our water, beer, and all that was liquid froze. On the same day we baked two batches of bread, the meal of which we had sifted, and of the shorts we made bread for the dogs.

On the 27th, clear weather with a soft N. breeze, and not so cold as heretofore, wherefore five of us went to the mountain, in order to see how matters were at sea; but as it was very heavy going, on account of the thick soft snow, in which in some places we sank up to our waist; and as on account of the unevenness of the rocks we might easily have broken a leg, without, moreover, being able to do any good, we returned to our tent, which we reached again after four or five hours.

On the 28th, the weather and wind as before. On that day whales several times made their appearance in the bay, mostly entering by the North Bay, and leaving by Fair Haven and the West Bay. Perceiving much ice in the bay, we did not deem it advisable to make any attempts upon them. At some places in the bay it looked as if it would become frozen over; but the motion of the water immediately prevented it. This evening our men brought an old, dirty basket home, and this was thrown upon the fire, burning so fiercely that the flame, beaten back by the wind, went beside the chimney, whereby our chimney-cloth, hung up on account of the smoke, was totally burnt. The flame also swept along the ceiling, and the whole of the tent door, as well as some books and other things, was much singed; which fire was put out with the cook's water and snow; failing its having been quenched it would have been a great and serious misfortune for us, since all our victuals and other requisites lay in the said tent. Wherefore we all together thanked God, and it serves us for a

warning to take greater care another time. In the night, the wind S.W., wherewith the ice departed.

The . 29th, fine clear weather, with warm sunshine, whereby the snow in many places was quite melted. In the morning, the sun being in the S.E., we perceived in the S.W., near the coast, two whales playing with each other for some time. About noon a whale made its appearance very close to the shore in front of our tent; near the Amsterdam Hut this whale got aground, but after violently agitating its tail and fin, and making other movements, it finally got off, and immediately made for deep water. In the afternoon there appeared so great a number of large whales in the bay that we were sorry we had to look on, for the reason that we could man only one shallop, the aforesaid Jan Kunst not being able to use his limbs, and therefore unable to assist us. But at length, S.E. of our tent, near the iceberg,<sup>1</sup> the harpoon of Maerten Jacobsz. hit a whale, and immediately after the shot the previously-prepared casks were thrown overboard, which casks made a great noise in the water; after the whale had made off some distance with the casks, the harpoon finally slipped. The intention was to tire the whale by means of the said casks, and then get a better opportunity of using our lances upon him. In the event of our having been twenty-four or twenty-six strong, in order properly to kill the whale, and profit by it after its death, we should in all probability have made a good winter. Since the seven of us could not bring a dead whale ashore, we did not deem it advisable to chase the same longer, at great risk, but considered it would be more madness than wisdom; yet there was reason

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<sup>1</sup> The south-east "iceberg" was one of the glaciers ending in the east side of Mauritius Bay, to which names have been recently given. It may have been Sallstrom's glacier, which ends in Slaad Bay; but there are reasons for thinking that that has only come down to the sea in modern times. The Fram glacier was more probably intended.

for firing the harpoon. The ice that was in the bay yesterday has entirely disappeared with the S. wind. In order to mitigate somewhat the dreadful smoke, we to-day made our chimney a plank's length higher, supporting it with spars and other things.

On the 30th, the S. wind continued, with fog, frost, and incessant drift-snow. After we had all, on various occasions, found one of our comrades in a fit of abstraction, and also plagued in his bunk by very heavy dreams, we asked him whether he regretted having adopted this existence; he replied that with regard to being here, he was not sorry; but said he had good reasons for his grief, and openly confessed before us that he was being tempted by Satan. Since I was accustomed to offer up prayer to God Almighty night and morning, I gave him the prayer-book, and placed before him various texts and other things, which were in part read out by him; but the service concluding with the Lord's Prayer, he stopped at one point as if his tongue were being held. Upon enquiry, we found that he had been afflicted in this manner for quite two years. May God Almighty alleviate his sufferings, and grant us steadfastness! On this day I cut a large piece of flesh from the aforesaid Jan Kunst's finger, which had grown out.

#### *October.*

The 1st of October, the wind N.W., with fog, frost, and incessant drift-snow, so that in the squally wind outside the tent it was difficult to breathe. To-day, we lit the Amsterdam stove,<sup>1</sup> by which we dried our washing; also, in order to ascertain (in case of necessity) how matters were in that tent. In the North Bay, two or three whales made their appearance.

On the 2nd, the wind and weather as before. Since our

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<sup>1</sup> That is to say, the stove in one of the Amsterdam tents.

community is not a large one, we have resolved that if one of us, being well, and awakened in the morning, remains lying asleep or lazing in his bunk, and does not appear at prayers, he should forfeit his breakfast, and not dare to touch food until the next meal; also that he should have no ration of tobacco or brandy.

On the 3rd, wind and weather as before. This morning we perceived two—and they the first—walruses in the bay; they are of such a form as this figure shows.<sup>1</sup> The birds now began to diminish very much, but around the carcass or carrion of a fish there still remained a number. The great gulls now flocked together for their departure, like the storks at home.

On the 4th, severe cold, with a S.E. wind. We saw a great quantity of ice about the mouth of the North Bay, where some whales also appeared.

On the 5th, the wind still S.E., whereby the ice was hard-pressed against the shore. About noon, the shallop rowed to a piece of brown ice, which we thought to have been a dead whale. In the afternoon we saw a quantity of whales in the bay, some of which made their appearance so close to the shore that we could have shot them (by manner of speaking) as we stood on the land. The whales seen by us up to the present have in all respects been very large ones. This day the tide came so high that the water stood within eighteen or twenty feet of our tent.

On the 6th, the wind was N.E., with frost, fog, and drift-snow. Three dogs having been left us on behalf of the common Chambers on the departure of the ships, one of these—to wit, that of the Amsterdam Chamber—brought forth thirteen pups to-day. Our cook, named Aleff Willemsz., has suffered for some days from severe

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<sup>1</sup> The print is not worth reproducing. It is rudely imitated from a copperplate engraving inserted in Gerrits' *Histoire du Pays nommé Spitsberghe*.

cramp in the stomach, from which God Almighty relieve him!

On the 7th, strong wind from the N.W., with cold, frosty weather. This day we saw some whales near the strand in the direction of the bay. As there was exceptionally no ice in the bay, we could comfortably have made some attempt upon them with a force of men; but outside the bay we could see some shimmering, from which we presumed that there must be ice. According to what we could see, the Archipelago was fast bound with ice.

On the 8th, the wind being N.E., the weather as before, and the sky clear, we perceived some more birds: such as mountain-ducks, gulls, and shore lapwings.

On the 9th, wind and weather as before.

On the 10th, wind and weather as before. This day the aforementioned dog and all her young ones died, being undoubtedly frozen to death.

On the 11th, the wind S.E., with frost and incessant drift-snow; so that nothing could have been done outside the tent on account of the strong wind.

On the 12th, a terribly strong wind and foul weather, whereby our wooden chimney (previously erected on account of the smoke) came down. The wind beat with such force down the chimney that the fire on the hearth was scattered all over the tent.

On the 13th the gale continued. In the afternoon it began to abate somewhat, wherefore we again set up, with great difficulty, the chimney blown down on the previous day, and secured it with four ropes and in other ways. Since we imagined that an occasion would not again present itself for doing anything with our shallop, we agreed to lay it up until it was further required. Setting up one of our barrels of beer in the evening, we found it so hard frozen that the beer was not to be got at for three or four inches, the bottoms of the barrels bulging outwards.



Since our storehouse had been built only one plank thick, I did not doubt that anything containing liquid would be in much the same state. This I had, indeed, represented to the Commandeur at the time, and solicited for a better provision; but my request was refused by him, and he said that it would be sufficient if only a tent or hut were put up. As a warning, should any subsequently desire to winter here, they must, in accordance with our experience, be provided with better and warmer huts. Since the hard frost causes everything to burst, we are at a loss for small earthenware utensils, the said small earthen and wooden pots not being very serviceable here; but iron or copper ones are more necessary.

On the 14th, the wind S.E., with continuous drift-snow. To-day, by an accident to our cook, our tin drinking-can got broken, which will cause us serious embarrassment. Some of the men drying their washing in the Amsterdam stove, the dog left us on behalf of the Flushing Chamber got locked up by oversight in the said tent, and jumped through the glass. This evening we saw the moon for the first time, it being eleven days old and  $12^{\circ}$  in Pisces. Early in the night, during the first watch, the wind and weather began to get somewhat milder.

On the morning of the 15th, clear, sunny weather; wherefore I, Jan Kunst, and Alef Willemsz. went to the mountains to see how matters were out at sea, and what further might befall us. The quantity of snow made it very heavy going; but, after great difficulty, we got on the mountain in the N.W., from which we saw some ice far out at sea, and in the S. the sun showing its whole disc just above the mountains, which, we imagined, would be for the last time for this year. Whereas I observed that in frying the dried cod-fish much butter was wasted, I gave orders that henceforth oil and vinegar were to be used over the said fish instead of butter. Also, that not more fish was to

be cooked than could be eaten at one time, but that more meat should be cooked, so that a piece could be put by for the evening instead of fried fish; likewise, that no butter was to be eaten on bread at dinner. Early in the evening we saw some whales spouting in the bay, but considered the weather too wild to enable us to kill them and profit thereby. This day our three chickens died, one of which we had hoped to enjoy on Sunday. We also made a sieve to sift our burnt coal, and burn it in the winter, when our tent is closed: since it has the peculiarity of giving no smoke, though the sulphur makes it oppressive to the chest.

On the 16th, the wind S.E., with snow, frost, and miserable weather.

On the 17th, the wind as before, with incessant snow, hard frost, and bitter cold.

The 18th, the wind N., with snow, frost, and bitter cold. The calendar gives for  $80^{\circ}$  of latitude a day of two hours and fifty minutes; but, after careful observation, we found, for eight or nine hours and a-half, light enough to see to read in a Testament outside the tent.

On the morning of the 19th, calm weather, with a fairly clear view towards the S. The frost began to be severe, so that everything in our tent that was wet froze, even close to the fire.

On the 20th, cold, miserable weather. Since the moon gave a good light, it made the long, miserable, and unusual night seem somewhat shorter to us.

The 21st, foggy weather and a light N. wind, the latter pressing a great quantity of ice into the bay, which we surmised would not leave again this year. To judge by what we could see, the shore was already bound by fresh ice; on a few occasions there had, indeed, been ice in the bay, but never of such terrible size and in such quantity as now. Our beer, melted on the 14th inst., froze to the

bottom whilst standing in our hut, about eight feet from the fire. This barrel we again broke open, hacked the ice out, and melted it; but found it no better, indeed worse than water; and since we melted the wash of it as readily as what was clear, for we had no abundance of the beer, we had likewise to drink it.

On the 22nd, dull drizzling weather, with a S.W. wind, whereby much of the ice that came into the bay yesterday has gone. In the afternoon, some walruses made their appearance in the bay; but as they remained in the water, there was no chance of making any attempt upon them. We found that we used three barrels of coal per week, and since we had not enough of them in stock, we opened some tents in which we found a good quantity more. Early in the evening, we nailed up the bottom door of our tent, by reason of the great cold that came through it into the tent upon our feet.

On the 23rd, the wind as before, with a pretty clear view. This day we again perceived some walruses in the bay.

On the 24th, calm weather and a clear sky, wherefore five of us, well provided with lances and guns, went to the mountains to see how matters were out at sea; but near the South Salad mountain we found it very difficult and heavy going. We were also prevented by the snow from climbing high up the mountain, whence we could see a quantity of ice out at sea before the West Bay. As darkness overtook us, we returned to the tent, passing on our way for a long time over the newly-frozen ice.

On the 25th, the wind S.E., with a bright clear sky. This morning, we found the first bear track near our tent: which we, well provided with lances and guns, followed up for some distance, intending to capture the same, and if possible prevent it from multiplying; we at length discovered that the said bear must have taken to the water again.

On the 26th, the wind and weather as before, with sharp frost; in some places before our tent the bay is hard frozen with fresh ice. After the severe frost and cold which we had had here, there was, strange to say, not yet any ice in the bay.

On the 27th, very calm, with clear weather. To-day, we again baked a batch of bread, by which heat we roasted a piece of reindeer-flesh in the oven, and ate it. When the sun was in the S. it should, according to the computation of the Sinus Tables, be one degree below the horizon; yet we enjoyed seven or eight hours of twilight. To-day, four or five whales again made their appearance in the North Bay, at which we were much surprised.

The 28th, wind and weather as before; this evening we boiled a pot of butter-milk, which milk we had to hack out of the cask. The said milk came from home with the fleet in May, and was still of very good flavour, being eagerly despatched as a change, after having been sweetened and mixed with a jug of wine.

On the 29th, calm weather with a clear view. Since the newly-frozen ice had been entirely carried off by the stream, we launched a shallop belonging to the Amsterdam Chamber, our own shallop lying right under the snow. Having launched the shallop we rowed along the coast, where with great difficulty we climbed high up the mountains; thence we saw that the West Bay was entirely covered with ice, in which we saw no opening, except about a mile out to sea, and then further nothing but ice as far as the horizon. With regard to the North Bay, that, too, was full of ice, but in floes, and constantly drifting in and out with the tide. It was our intention to land on Deadman's Island (if it had been possible), but we were prevented by the newly-frozen ice. The ice in the North Bay now began to form strongly; and as we, in our shallop, were exposed to great danger of being crushed, we made as speedily as

possible for our tent; on the way, we still went in pursuit of a walrus, which sought the depths as soon as it perceived us. This day we saw some brown gulls, of which kind we had seen none for some days.

The 30th, the wind E., with a clear sky; about midday the wind veered to the N., with squalls and cold. This day we, for the first time, saw a star constantly above the horizon.

On the 31st, the N.E. wind continued, with a bright clear sky. In the morning we found the bay again fast bound with newly-frozen ice. In the afternoon we saw two walruses continually poking their heads through the newly-frozen ice, one of them supporting itself upon the same with its tusks; I shot it in the head with two bullets, whereupon they immediately made off further bay-wards after the shot. In the evening it was bitterly cold.

### *November.*

On the 1st November, the wind N.E., with a bitter cold and a sharp frost; but at night bright, clear, light weather.

On the 2nd, the breeze still from the N., with cold weather. About noon, we walked upon the ice before our tent; Jan Kunst and Maarten Jacobsz. also went a good way up the North Bay, where they found the ice still so weak that the dog fell in some places through the same into the water, they managing to get him out of the ice with great trouble.

On the 3rd, calm favourable weather. Since, according to our observations, the bay was fast frozen over from one shore to the other, six of us, well provided with lances, attempted to cross the said bay on foot. But, having passed the first half in safety, we found the said bay to have an opening of a mile and a-half, at a guess, near the shore; wherefore we returned, each of us, during the journey,



falling through the ice into the said bay. Our carpenter wishing to discharge his musket, it burst at the back of the chamber, some of the pieces being found far and wide; but the man firing it was not injured.

On the 4th, the wind easterly, with a clear view; with regard to the twilight, that is decreasing.

On the 5th, the wind N.E., with a clear sky; this day we still enjoyed four or five hours' twilight; we made wooden cleeks, with which we golfed<sup>1</sup> upon the bay before our tent, for exercise.

On the 6th, the wind rose high; the cold, up to the present, was not to be regarded as insupportable. During the first watch, we observed the first fox before our tent.

On the 7th, the wind was still in the N., with sharp frost and bitter cold. Early in the evening, we perceived a bear on the strand before our tent, and went off in pursuit; but as soon as he saw us he made for the bay. Some of our men not feeling well, we were obliged to prepare some remedy in our drinking-can.

On the 8th, the wind N.E., with a cloudy sky. To-day, a bear again appeared on the strand before our tent; but as soon as he observed us he made off; we presumed him to be the same one of yesterday, since he took the same route.

On the 9th, the wind southerly, with clear weather, and not particularly cold.

On the 10th, wind and weather as before. This morning the first fox was caught by our dog. In the afternoon,

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<sup>1</sup> This was not the first time golf was played in the Arctic regions, for on April 3rd, 1597, some of Barents' party who were wintering near the north end of Novaja Zemlja "made a staff to plaie at Colfe, thereby to stretch their jointes:" and on May 15th the same men went out "to exercise their bodies with running, walking, playing at colfe, and other exercises, thereby to stirre their joynts and make them nymble." See the Hakluyt Society's edition (1876) of De Veer's *Journal of Three Voyages of W. Barents*.



three of us went across the West Bay, where in some places we found two or three bear-tracks together, which we followed up, but found no bears; as it was getting dark, we returned.

On the 11th, the wind S., with a clear sky, frost and bitter cold. During the past night the blanket that covered my body, and that had become wet from my breath, was entirely frozen, so that when I awoke I was afraid my nose was frozen, since I was suffering great pain in it. This evening we saw the new moon for the first time above the mountains.

On the 12th, calm weather, and not particularly cold. Early in the night two of our men went to Deadman's Island, where they saw nothing but the tracks of foxes and bears.

On the 13th, the wind southerly, with a cloudy sky, and occasionally some snow. Early in the evening the wind rose high, but did not continue so.

On the 14th, the wind as before, with a clear sky, frost, and bitter cold. In the evening of this day we started upon another cask of beer; this we found to be entirely frozen, and broke it open, cutting up the ice with saws and other things. On its being melted, we put it into another cask we had got ready, in order that we might draw off the best and the worst together; this we placed in our living tent, about three paces from the fire, intending to keep it melted. During the first watch, the wind northerly, with a bright clear sky.

On the 15th, the wind and weather as before, with a bright moon. Early in the evening we heard a great noise, which we imagined to be the fall of a rock or iceberg.

On the 16th, a breeze from the N., with a cool air. In the evening it began to clear up a bit. We have found by experience that as soon as it blows at all it is then bitterly

cold, no matter in what quarter the wind is. We found the coals that had been allotted us to be diminished by quite a third.

On the 17th, the wind as before, with drift-snow.

On the 18th, the wind as before, with a clear sky, frost, and bitter cold. Since I observed that much coal was burnt in melting the snow, both for freshening the meat and for other things, I had a hole hacked and sawed through the ice in the bay, which ice we found to be two or three feet thick, and in this we hung our meat.

On the 19th, wind and weather as before, with a bright moon. Coming near the hole, in order to look at the meat, we found that it was gone as far as the knot in the rope, at which we were very much surprised; therefore we, on two separate occasions, made fast other pieces of meat to a metal hook, and trussed them; but they were eaten clean away as before. During the night there was drift-snow; we also heard a fox barking.

On the 20th, wind and weather as before; towards night it began to blow hard, but did not continue very long. To-day, one of our men, armed with a lance, went to Deadman's Island, but saw nothing except a track of many foxes and bears.

On the 21st, the wind easterly, with sharp squalls. Towards evening it began to abate; there was a bright moon, wherefore three of our men went out on a tour; but being about half-way to Fair Haven they turned back, without having seen anything that was alive.

On the 22nd, wind and weather as before. In the evening we made a hoop-net, which we placed in the water, in order to get some fish. On hauling up the net we found the bait taken out of it, and nothing in it; the reason of this was that it had been a lobster net, and that its meshes were too open.

On the 23rd, the wind S.W., with dark snowy weather,

and bitter cold. Late in the evening we found that not particularly much snow had yet fallen.

On the 24th, the wind, N.W., with continued dull weather. In the evening a few stars came out; we then boiled another pot of butter-milk. It tasted very musty; but having put into it a jug of wine, some syrup, and ginger, it was very good eating, after all. Our salted meat looked very red and bloody, but was nevertheless of good flavour; of the former cask, some pieces smelt, and were partly decomposed. In the evening it was calm weather.

The 25th, dark weather the whole day. In the morning, we still saw the moon in the S.W. To-day, I have heard that one of our men had swallowed leaden musket-balls, which he had not yet got rid of by the evening; how it will fare with him, time will show.

On the 26th, wind and weather as before; during the night a strong wind, with drift-snow. This evening, we set another hoop-net, which we had woven of rope-ends, and dug the hole somewhat further from the shore, in order to get more depth; two or three hours after cutting the hole, we found it again frozen over to the thickness of a hand.

On the 27th, changeable wind, but mostly S.W., which rose slowly, but steadily, so that we feared our tent, and all it contained, would be blown over; yet all went well (thank God)! The severe cold and wind prevented us from going to look at the net.

On the 28th, wind and weather as before. About noon the rough weather abated somewhat, wherefore we hauled up our net, in which we found nothing. The bait was also entirely eaten away; but we surmised that it had been carried off by the strong current and the cold water. In order to exercise our limbs, we resolved together that before retiring to rest we would every day walk in the tent for two hours; I also heard that the man had got rid of the above-mentioned bullets. Early in the night, the

Northern light flashed very much, and it was fearful to see ; the season now reveals itself in somewhat wretched fashion.

On the 29th, the wind as before, with a cold, dark atmosphere. In the evening it began to blow hard from the N.E.

On the 30th, the wind variable, with sharp squalls. This day we again ate a salad in order to refresh ourselves somewhat. It was still of very good flavour. Upon examination, we found that our reindeer-flesh was in no danger of becoming bad.

#### *December.*

The 1st of December the variable wind continued, with a clear sky. About noon I thought that I could still see the twilight in the S. Early in the night the wind rose higher.

On the 2nd, the wind S.W., with an overcast sky. In the night the weather grew much milder, and some wet or rain came down.

On the 3rd, the wind and weather as before, with continual drift-snow. In the night the wind began to rise very high, with squalls.

On the 4th, the wind and weather as before. Our drink now began to be very bad, wherefore it was not worth hacking and melting. The men turned from this supply to the water-cask, drinking which water caused some of them great cramp in the stomach.

On the 5th, wind and weather as before, with continued drift-snow. To-day we made loopholes for shooting from at various places in our tent.

On the 6th, the wind N.E., with sharp frost and bitter cold. We made a big fire on the hearth, and also in the stove, yet no one could keep himself warm in his bunk or sleeping-place ; therefore we went and sat before the fire,

from fear of being frozen. To-day we broke open our vinegar-cask, which was entirely frozen.

On the 7th, wind and weather as before, wherefore some of us drew their bunks towards the stove; others remained sitting with their feet before the fire, and durst not retire to rest.

On the 8th, the wind abated a good deal, but not the severe cold, which we did not think we could bear much more intense. Early in the night, a clear sky, with a bright moon.

On the morning of the 9th, the wind in the S. quarter, with sombre weather, continual drift-snow, and not so cold as it had now been for some days. During the first watch the bitterly cold wind rose again.

On the 10th, the wind N., with clear weather and bitter cold, so that it was scarcely to be endured a little way off the fire—indeed, so intensely cold that, notwithstanding we made a great fire in the stove, we, having lain awhile in our bunks, had to get up again and walk about in order to keep our limbs warm. To-day we hacked our salt meat and bacon out of the barrel by dint of great effort. For some time past we could never, by the burning of our stove and the fire on the hearth, bring it about that anything in the tent could be observed to get warmer or thaw, which nearly discouraged us; and wherefore we daily prayed to God Almighty not to punish us according to our deserts.

On the 11th, the wind was S.W., with dark weather. In the afternoon the barking of the dogs made us aware of a bear being near our tent. This, after much shooting and many thrusts with our lances, we killed at some distance behind our tent. The darkness, and the unevenness of the snow, made it very dangerous and difficult for us, and nearly all our lances were bent, broken into pieces, and rendered unserviceable. Immediately after his death, the said bear was skinned, and the skin and fat taken care of

by us. By reason of the darkness, we managed to do this with the aid of lanterns and burning candles, whilst we had our lances and guns lying around us in order to defend ourselves with them if necessary.

On the 12th, towards noon, the wind southerly, with calm weather, and not so cold as the previous day. In the evening we heard a fox barking, but could not get a sight of it.

On the 13th, the wind S. and S.E., with clear weather. This morning we found tracks showing that a bear had been round our tent, making his way to a shed, through which we went to another tent. We, therefore, presumed that, since the snow lay thick against and over this, he intended to climb over it and come again in front of our tent. He went to an ash-tub standing close by, seeking for some food; but not finding the latter, he made his way over the Middelburg boats and coal-casks. We searched before and behind the tent to see whether we could discover anything more, since the temperature was somewhat milder. Towards evening the wind was N., with but little breeze and increased cold.

On the 14th, the wind N.E., with clear, tolerable weather. That evening one of our men went out with a dog close up to the mountains and chased a fox; but as the latter made off into the mountains, and the man had no gun with him, he returned without having done anything further. We then made our privy up in the loft, with an outlet outside the tent.

On the 15th, the wind N.E., with very little breeze. About mid-day it grew dark, which probably causes just the opposite effect in Holland. To-day we fetched a hind-leg of the killed bear and laid it before the look-out behind our tent, in order to see whether we could attract some bears with it. In the evening the moon appeared, with lovely weather; wherefore two of us went to enjoy a walk to the



mountains, when the moon was in the E., and proceeded some distance from our tent in that direction, getting into a bit of a sweat. We had resolved to climb to the top of the mountain, if anything of profit to the Company or our refreshment had been apparent; but not perceiving anything, and bearing in mind the strong winds that rise suddenly, when it would be difficult to get down on account of the snow and cold, we returned to our tent. This is the farthest that anyone has been in the dark.

On the 16th, the wind S. and S. b. W., with very cold, dull weather and an obscured moon. In the evening the wind rose still higher.

On the 17th, the wind and weather as before, blustering and mild. After the hard cold we had had before this, all that was frozen in the tent began to thaw. In the evening thick fog, with snow and sharp squalls, the wind being N. b. E.

On the 18th, the wind N. b. E. and N.N.E., with sharp frost, and bitter cold, as before: whereby we observed the N. wind to be the bitterest. This evening, and during the whole night, we had continually rising wind and an ever-increasing cold, with drift-snow, so that it was a bad look-out for us: for in a moonlight night there was still some cheerfulness; but, on the contrary, with an obscured moon and a N. wind, it was very melancholy.

On the 19th, the wind as before, more breeze, a clear sky, and drift-snow. We surmised that the latter was driven down from the mountains by the strong wind. It froze so hard that we were often startled by the cracking of the snow; indeed, we thought that a number of bears were around us. To-day the cough of our cook—who, together with others, had long been afflicted therewith—was somewhat better. In the evening the wind began to abate somewhat; in the night the wind N.W. We then heard a voice like the croaking of a raven; but, two or

three hours after, we perceived a fox near the tent. We went in pursuit of it with the dog, but did not catch it.

On the 25th, the wind as before. About mid-day, southerly, with bright and tolerable weather: so that we thought we could still see some twilight. Since we had not seen any light now for some days, and the sun, being in the sign of Capricorn, was in its most southerly latitude, whilst the moon was twenty days old and  $23^{\circ}$  in Leo, we had no doubt that the said light was that of the moon or the North light. Early in the night we heard the aforesaid croaking amongst the Amsterdam casks, whither three or four of us went in order to ascertain what it could be, and, if possible, to capture the same by firing or chasing it with the dog; but, on coming near, it kept quiet: wherefore we returned without having accomplished anything.

On the 21st, continued drift-snow, with dark but tolerable weather. During the night the wind rose strong from the N.W., with bitter cold.

On the 22nd, wind and weather as before. This morning our cook burnt himself badly whilst removing the meat-pot, scorching his arms and fingers with the flame of the fat, singeing his beard, eyebrows, and nearly all his front hair; and suffering, too, great pain in his eyes. For this reason he left off cooking, this being undertaken for the present by Marcus Pouwelsz.

On the 23rd, wind and weather as before. To-day, the great quantity of snow (which lay very high before our tent-door) compelled us to climb through other tent-holes and to dig our door out, since we must go outside the tent daily for our needs; also to melt snow to water for the cooking and for other purposes. Whilst we were at work upon the door, others kept watch from the loopholes in the loft, in order that we might not be fallen upon by wild beasts.

On the 24th, the wind from the S. quarter, with a tolerable cold. In the evening it was calm. Early in the night the North light flashed so that it was terrible to behold, giving sometimes great brightness, and lasting nearly the whole night.

On the 25th, calm weather, with an overcast sky, and not particularly cold. Last night bears came outside our tent on two or three different occasions. As soon as we opened the loopholes (which are in the said tent), they came and smelt at them, whereupon we fired; but, as they drew back upon the barking of the dogs, our aim was an uncertain one. On account of the darkness and the unevenness of the snow, we did not deem it advisable to make any attack outside. For our Christmas we cooked a ham and made a reindeer stew; enjoying in addition a stoup of hot wine, and giving each man seven inches of tobacco and a clean pipe.

On the 26th, the wind as before, with an overcast sky. Our cook fetching some snow about mid-day, we, for safety, let out the dog, who immediately attacked a bear, against which we attempted nothing, on account of the darkness. To-day we made a bar for our tent-door, with a running strop and a fixed one, in order to make ourselves secure against bears. In the evening the S. wind rose higher.

On the 27th, the wind and weather as before, with tolerable cold, so that we kept the watch to-night without fire. About mid-day, one of our company wished to make water; and, opening the shutter before the loophole, in order to see whether there was anything about, he saw a bear before the tent-door, which came and sniffed at the said hole; whereupon I got up and took a gun in my hand, shooting the bear in such a way that the wad lay burning upon his skin. He ran away, roaring, westwards of our tent; wherefore we opened the door and

went in pursuit of him with our dog; but, on getting outside the tent, we found the snow so soft that we sank into it above our knees, and had to give up the chase. In the evening we noticed that the dog had been wounded in his leg by the bear, and besmeared it with some olive-oil.

On the 28th, the wind and weather as before. Before getting our breakfast, we saw another bear at our tent-door, who, like the others abovementioned, poked his nose into the opening of the shutter, and then went a little aside so that we could not take aim. Therefore, going up above, where we had him better within range, we fired upon him, and shot him in the body; but he took to flight, amidst much roaring, and we could not capture him either. We surmised that the aforesaid bears were attracted by the smell of the cooking-water, poured down outside the door. This morning, we heard the roar of the sea in the W. and N.W. Towards evening, we saw three bears together, and presumed that they had come from the mountains, and so behind our tent; they remained standing for a moment behind the Middelburg tent, and then ran eastwards. We thought that they would come before the tent, and attack us, wherefore we did not fire upon them. We presumed them to be two old ones and their cub, since two of them were much bigger than the third. The whole of the day until night, the sky was so full of light that it was terrible to behold. In the night our carpenter, being very faint, fell into a swoon. He says that this happened to him five or six times whilst he lay in his bunk, and was accompanied by stitches in the side: God bring it to a good issue!

On the 29th, the wind and weather as before. To-day, before breakfast, we saw a bear upon the strand before our tent; we did not fire upon it, as we hoped it would come nearer to us, but it made off towards the fort. Seeing this, we followed up the bear with the dog, and made chase

after him ; but since we sank deep into the snow every moment, we returned. To-day, we saw two other bears, after which we also went in pursuit, but accomplished nothing, except that the dog made a set at one of them for a long time, so that the said bear made a great noise by snorting and tearing and beating with his claws. In the evening a breeze began to set in from the S.W., with damp weather and an overcast sky. We then opened another half-cask of beer, which, as before, was very hard frozen. We also set up right before our tent a shallop mast, six paces from the door, to which we fastened a large piece of salted meat, in order to capture some bears by that means.

On the 30th, it began to blow hard from the S.S.W., with dark and drizzling weather. In the afternoon we saw another bear close to our tent, which, like the others, got away.

On the 31st, the wind abated somewhat. In the afternoon, we thought we could see another bear on the west side of our tent, but it did not show itself. We now find daily that most of the skin comes off the hands and fingers of the men who have had them frozen. The cold was now tolerable. In the evening we perceived another bear before our tent, which, after we had waited for it for some time, was fired upon by our Norwegian.<sup>1</sup> With two bullets in its body it howled gruesomely, whereupon we immediately ran out, but it escaped, since the dog led us in the wrong direction, to another bear, and we followed up his barking ; so the said bear escaped in the darkness, and we returned to our tent. Fetching a lantern with a lighted candle in it, we found, about N.E. by N. of us, that the said bear had shown great violence by beating his claws, and had even dug holes in many places, as if spades had been employed;

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<sup>1</sup> Kersten Andriesz., of Fredrikstad, was doubtless intended. Fredrikstad is just outside the Christiania Fjord.

he had also lost much blood, which we followed up for a long distance along the North Bay; but finding nothing we returned to our tent, feeling then that the cold was becoming much more intense. The Lord preserve us further in the New Year!

*January, 1634.*

On the 1st of January it began to blow somewhat from the N., with bitter cold, drift-snow, and hard frost. To-day, we prayed to God that He, in His divine mercy, might preserve us from all evil in this newly-begun year; after which prayer I had a jug of hot wine, and a salad prepared, and dealing out to each person, as a New Year's gift, a clean pipe and six inches of tobacco. During the first watch, the look-out perceived a bear; he thought he shot it, but it escaped.

On the 2nd, the cold continued, with a strong wind, which abated towards the evening, with tolerably clear weather. During the night, a bear appeared on two or three different occasions, behind and before our tent; but as soon as he perceived us he made off.

On the 3rd, the wind variable, with bitter cold. In the afternoon two or three bears again appeared, before and near our tent, after which we, as before, went in pursuit. The dog, overtaking one of them, caused it to stand still, whilst one of our company hastened up with a gun; but the said bear, seeing the other men approach, took to flight. We found that bears were continually stopping near our tent, for we were scarcely free from them for two or three hours. We also saw then many foxes, both before and behind our tent, and also observed that the light (God be praised!) began to appear. In the evening, we stood for a long time near the tent, and



very dark, we did not seek him further. In the night we heard two bears making a dreadful noise together behind our tent; we surmised that one had found some prey, and that the other wanted to take it from him, which cannot always be done. One of our company also shot a fox.

On the 4th, the wind S.E., dark weather, mingled with drift-snow; but not so bitter as yesterday. This morning another bear stood before our tent-door, but did not await our coming.

On the 5th, the wind N.E., with tolerable cold, and a clear sky. To-day, we again saw the moon above the mountains; according to my reckoning, we ought to have seen it a little less than thirty-six hours earlier.

On the 6th, the wind and weather as before. In the evening, I saw two bears on the E. side of our tent; I fired upon them with double shot, but immediately after the discharge they took to flight.

On the 7th, wind and weather as before, with bright moonlight. In the morning, before breakfast, another bear made his appearance before the door of our tent, but as soon as he saw us he took to his heels. About noon the dog ran out after a fox, but immediately gave up the chase, and commenced to bark at two bears; these, too, he did not pursue. Shortly afterwards, we saw two bears coming down upon us from the back, being followed, so it seemed, by two others, because they had long been growling at one another. As soon as they were within range, one of them was shot by Jan Kunst through the loop-hole, with two bullets in the body. He remained lying on his side, whereupon five of us immediately ran out, and killed him with lances. The others at once took to flight, amid great bellowing, so that we surmised that another one had been wounded, which, after long pursuit, escaped us. As we were returning, we saw another bear

came from ; we immediately gave chase, and drove him out of the valley along the North Bay, past our tent, about as far as the Veere Tent, where we overpowered him ; sometimes we shot the lances into his body, as we do the harpoons into a whale ; these he would then bite, in order to get the head out, whilst another would then take fresh aim, so that (thank God ! ) we got two bears killed on that occasion, and skinned them with lighted candles, bringing the fat and the skins into our stores. In the one we found one bullet, and two in the other. During this expedition, our Norwegian had to retire to the tent in the best part of the game, fearing, as he thought, that his toes were frozen ; but it turned out well, after all. Subsequently, we perceived three more bears, who directed their course towards the dead bears ; but as we were very tired from the chase, the snow being soft, we left it at that.

On the 8th, the wind N.W., with drift-snow. To-day, a number of bears congregated behind our tent in the valley, where lay the carcass of a whale ; towards evening, when the moon was beginning to rise, we saw various parties of these bears departing from the band, sometimes three, four, or six together, growling as they went around and past our tent, whilst three made their way across the timber-heaps. One of them, jumping over the stern of the shallop, smelt at the meat that was hanging to the mast, and was hit in the body with a double charge by our Norwegian ; nevertheless he escaped. Shortly afterwards, another came up, and was so hit by our company that he remained lying in the same place ; we pierced his body with a lance or two ; but as it was Sunday, we did not disembowel him. The whole of the day and night we have had so many bears around our tent, making such a

They kept together in troops; of the three bears shot yesterday, we found that one was a female, from which we concluded that it must be their play-time.

On the 9th, the wind N.E., with bright moonshine and tolerable cold; the noise of the bears behind our tent still increased. To-day, the men disembowelled the bear we captured yesterday; whilst we were skinning the same, another bear approached us, to which we gave chase; but as soon as he perceived us he took to flight. After pursuing him for a time, we shot him in the thigh, at which he stood still; but perceiving the rest of the men, who were approaching him with lances, he took refuge in flight. We then saw various parties of two, three and four together near our tent, but they did not come within range.

On the 10th, the wind as before, with calm weather and bright moonshine. To-day, we were out three or four times, and gave chase on several occasions, hitting some, but having captured none. In the evening, three of our company went out again, and found the track of a bear in the new Amsterdam tent, the door being unlocked; they then again gave chase to some bears, but captured none. Our carpenter, becoming a little separated from his comrades, saw three other bears, and ran up to them, intending to drive them to his companions; but coming near them he saw so many standing together, that he retired in fear to his company for their help. We also saw many cubs, from which we concluded that they generate twice a year; but attempting nothing more, we returned to our tent.

On the 11th, the wind as before, with tolerable cold. About noon we shot a bear, but it got away. To-day, we resolved that three of our company, well provided with ammunition, and victuals for three days, should go and

thereby lighten the Company's expenses ; they went of their own free will. In the evening, the moon was entirely encircled by a great ring, having a projection on the inner side, both E. and W. During the night, a white fox was shot by one of our company.

On the 12th, the wind and weather as before, with clear moonlight. We heard that as soon as our aforesaid comrades had arrived at the above-mentioned General's, or Amsterdam, tent, three bears came down upon them, whereupon they immediately took aim ; but, as the guns had got damp during the journey thither, not one of them could be discharged. To-day I resolved to go across with my things, in order to look after everything. I gave our three comrades some brandy to refresh themselves ; but, as my constitution could not stand the smoke of the stove, I returned to our hut in order to avoid an accident. To-night we saw three bears outside our tent, and two of us took aim ; but the gun missed fire as before, and we captured none. We found that when we placed the guns in the oven, loaded, the iron thawed very much, so that the powder got wet, and the water ran out at the vent-hole. We, therefore, afterwards placed them there unloaded, and let them dry.

On the 13th, dark, windy weather. I immediately went over to the tent again. Soon after my arrival we saw another bear, whom we shot almost stone-dead from the loophole in the stove. It was a young animal, and on account of the intense cold, we left it unskinned. In the evening we saw another bear, at whom we again took aim, but he altered his course. As long as we keep ourselves concealed the bears will approach almost to the muzzle ; but the constant firing makes them so shy, that as soon as we move, or let them hear the click of the gun, and catch sight of the burning match, they commence to run.

drift-snow, and total darkness, relieved by an occasional gleam of the moon. To-day, neither party had any chase, on account of the bitter cold and hard frost.

On the 15th, the wind N.W., a stiff breeze, with hard frost, and mingled with drift-snow. In the evening our men came to us in the tent for some necessities; they said they had seen no bears, except whilst they were coming to us, and on the strand; these had taken to flight as soon as they perceived the men. We certainly believe that the bears stay in their caves in bad weather, or repair to a warm place. It froze almost a hand thick to-night in the stock-fish tub that stands close to the hearth.

On the 16th, the N. wind continued, with intense cold; indeed, it was so cold at night that although the stove was burning, all of us had to get out of our bunks on account of the temperature, fearing that our legs would get frozen. We had now seen the moon encircled by a ring, as before-mentioned, for two or three days; we still perceived no bears.

The 17th: this morning we heard that our three comrades in the Amsterdam tent had killed a large bear during the dog-watch. The wind and cold continued. During the first watch, we saw a bear on the ice before our tent, but on seeing us he fled. This night we melted our beer for the third time. When the moon was in the S.W., we heard our comrades shooting, whereupon we turned out in order to assist them, if necessary. On arriving there, they shot at a bear for the second time, whom we then killed with our lances. In the dog-watch, another bear appeared outside our tent, and was hit by one of our comrades with a bullet that had been split up into sixteen pieces, for firing at a fox; he took to flight, but having gone ten or twelve paces lay down, and was killed with a



On the 18th, a strong N.W. wind, with drift-snow. To-day, the cold greatly increased in intensity.

The 19th, with increase of wind, and cold, which meant a bad look-out for us. God knows in what straits we are! Our French wine and vinegar was so hard frozen that it is almost incredible. In the evening, our comrades again came for fuel and victuals, saying that nothing had happened there. The ropes of our tent were so drawn by the frost that we thought the boards would be entirely wrenched off.

On the 20th, the wind and cold continued, so that we had to get out of our bunks and take to walking. To-day, whilst one of our comrades was drinking out of an earthen jug, his beard froze fast to the vessel. The weather looks as if it would get more severe, so that we fear that if the cold increases we shall have to leave our tents. We hacked our French wine out of the barrel; we then placed a jug of brandy up in the loft, and it remained unfrozen. We likewise found that the cask of cooking-water that stood against the stove, and about two paces from the fire, froze over in three hours to the thickness of one's little finger; but if we had been provided with a good hut, we would have suffered no hardships.

The 28th, the wind and weather as before. For these twenty-four hours we had kept the door of our tent closed. Towards midday, the weather began to get somewhat milder, so that we opened our tent. In the afternoon our comrades came from the other tent for beer and fuel; they said that to-day four bears had made their appearance near the tent; they had fired at them, but had captured none. In the evening, we saw a bear westward of our tent, but he did not come within range. According to human understanding, it would seem as if it were impossible, by reason of the quantity of snow, and the continual



frost, that we could depart with the approaching season ; but the issue is known to God Almighty.

On the 22nd, the weather appeared somewhat milder, with calm, and great clearness in the S. In the afternoon, our comrades came to us, in order (it being Sunday) to pray together to God Almighty. They said that they had had bears in sight on several occasions, but never within range. We also observed that with this soft weather, the bears behind our tent increased. Towards evening, the wind rose ; we observed some bears near our tent, but not so close by as before.

On the 23rd, the wind veered to the E., with a stiff breeze, but it was not so cold. In the forenoon, we saw some bears, but they kept far away from the tent. In the afternoon, our comrades came for fuel and other necessary things, reporting that they had seen divers troops of bears, but had been unable to get a shot at them. As far as we could see, a large number had gathered about the carcass or portion of the dead whale. The whole day the weather was dark and foggy ; at night, the Northern light gleamed terribly.

On the 24th, the E. wind continued, with incessant drift-snow, and dark and squally weather, so that not one of us went outside the tent.

On the 25th, variable wind, with drift-snow, so that we could see nothing before us. To-day, we recognized twilight for quite six or seven hours, so that at noon I was able to read several lines in a hymn-book. We found our French wine, which, as stated above, had got frozen, and had been broken up by us, to have sunk and to have thawed somewhat, but to be so cold in drinking that we thought we should lose all feeling in our tongues and lips. We also found that our beer remained constantly frozen. We hacked and hung (which was quite a job) a pot of it

over the fire; and when it had melted, scooped out as much as we liked with a wooden pannikin.

On the 26th, the wind S., with sharp squalls and more light, so that the stars that stood in the S. about noon were quite paled by the light. This gave us reason to believe, having caught a glimpse towards the S.W., that there must be an opening. I therefore sent out five men, armed with lances and firelocks, to examine the same. On arriving in the W., at some distance past the reef, they saw two bears, the one not six hands high, the other somewhat bigger. They took aim at them; but as they separated, and the powder was blown out of the pan on drawing the trigger, they pursued the bears with their lances. These made off towards the bay, which was only covered with loose snow, so that the bears were continually breaking through it. The men then observed that the West Bay was mostly open; that they could, indeed, see no more than a crust of ice in the said bay; from which we concluded that, since (as mentioned above) we could hear the roar of the breakers, there must also be an opening near the West Bay, or Bee-hive.<sup>1</sup> The ice here must melt quickly from the bottom, seeing that for some time past we have had mostly cold winds, with frost. With regard to the North Bay, we could not observe any opening there; but in the event of the wind remaining, as now, for some length of time in this quarter, an opening might chance to occur there early, which God grant! In returning, we observed that the bears had clawed up much rock-weed and big leaves<sup>2</sup> on the strand; and that, to

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<sup>1</sup> The Beehive was a hill of peculiar shape at the west extremity of Amsterdam Island. Martens mentions it as being on the left as one sails into the West Bay, which he called the South Haven.

<sup>2</sup> Seaweed is intended. Martens likewise observed and described it as follows:—

“There is another sea-plant, which I called sea-grass, whereof there is plenty in the *English Haven*, underneath the water, above eight

protect themselves against the W. wind, they had made large pits near the Delft tent, where they appear to have pitched their camp. During the night the wind veered to the S.W., with so stiff a breeze that we thought our look-out, tent and all, would be blown over: for the ground, our bunks, and everything trembled and shook; but God Almighty preserved us from accident.

On the 27th, the wind S.W., with storm, drift-snow, and rain, so that everything thawed. Our cheese, which had frozen and burst, dripped and almost fell to pieces. In the afternoon our companions came for beer, and blubber to burn in the lamp. They said they could not burn the stove on account of the strong wind. It seemed that the opening was getting much larger; but, since we could get no view by reason of the darkness and the rough weather, we could not write anything about it with certainty. It thawed very hard, so that we were afraid our reindeer-flesh and salad, which we were reserving for days of sickness, would spoil. Since we could not get to it on account of the rough weather, and also because the tent in which it was lay snowed under, we resolved to examine it at the first opportunity. We saw no bears near our tent to-day.

On the 28th, the strong wind continued as before. About mid-day it veered to the N.W., and in the afternoon to the N.E., with clear weather, so that we could distinctly see across the water from our tent to Deadman's Island, and so further to the West Bay. Towards evening there were two bears near our tent, one of which lay down upon the strand to sleep. One of our comrades, pro-

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foot long. The leaves were about two or three fingers broad, of a yellow colour like glaw, and transparent, ending in a blunt point; at the top smooth-edged, without nicks or prickles; everywhere plain and even; the leaves grew from the root round about it, as it were out of one hole." See Martens' Voyage, in A. White's *Spitzbergen and Greenland*, p. 56 (Hakluyt Soc., 1855).

ceeding thither, shot at him. He raised his head, but remained lying down, so that we thought he had been hit, and all ran out towards him. Hearing the noise, however, he took to flight. We aimed at the other, who was standing by the piece of meat that we had previously hung to the mast ; but, as the gun missed fire, he also escaped. We saw bears three or four times more that day, but captured none of them. In the evening the wind was S.W., and the breakers made such an uproar from the churchyard<sup>1</sup> between the reef and the mountain, that it seemed as if they wished to carry away our tent. During the night the North light gleamed terribly.

On the 29th, wind and weather as before. This morning I heard that our men had shot a bear in the body, from which there came as much blood as if it had been squirted out with a squirt ; but they were prevented from following up the track by the rough weather. We saw to-day a number of bears that went grazing like the cattle at home. We gave chase to them several times ; and, two approaching us, we shot them. They made a great noise and tumult, we having also had great trouble before we could kill them with our lances. One of the two, escaping, was followed by the Flushing dog ; but the latter, being seized by the bear, was tossed over his head. On his returning to us, we saw that he had three holes in his body, which we doctored as well as we could ; for we should have suffered serious loss in the dog. On account of the continual cold, wet, and windy weather, we left the killed bear lying unskinned, it being our intention to disembowel it at the first opportunity, together with the other five last

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<sup>1</sup> The churchyard was the burying-place, which is still clearly discoverable. It lay west of the buildings of Smeerenburg, where the reef made the shore inconvenient for Cookeries. A reference on Feb. 3 shows that anyone going from the huts to the reef had to cross

shot. To-day we also cooked a piece of reindeer, which was, thank God, still of good flavour. The opening in the water increased greatly. During the night variable winds, mingled with snow and rain.

On the 30th, the wind and weather as before, with a dark sky. Towards noon the day began to break somewhat, so that we saw the ice separating itself and drifting away. I then sent two of our comrades to the strand with ropes, in order to secure therewith the bear killed yesterday; but they did not find it, for it had drifted away. The ice in the North Bay was also torn, and seemed to be floating out to sea. In the afternoon the wind was S. We then gave chase to another bear, who was lying asleep behind the Danish casks;<sup>1</sup> but as we approached him before the wind, he got scent of us, and took to flight. During the night the wind was variable—S.W., N.W., S. and S.E., boisterous and soft, as winters go in this country.

On the 31st, the wind S. and S.E., with intense cold, and a dark sky. In the afternoon, the tide came up to within two roods of the tent: it had never been so high. The ice continued steadily flowing out of the West Bay, but the sea near the said bay seemed to be ice-bound. In the evening we shot at a bear behind our tent, but he was not hit. During the night the wind rose again.

### *February.*

On the 1st of February, variable wind; everything would have been blown over last night had the water come up to our tent. Early in the night, it was so dark that we could scarcely see the snow; the wind N. and N.E.

On the 2nd, the wind as before, so that the North Bay

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<sup>1</sup> This reference proves that the Danes had not given up their establishment at Smeerenburg at this time, though they had been in possession of Robbe Bay since 1631 at least.

was full of ice. About midday, our comrades came from the stove tent, and said that, strangely enough, they had seen no bears; I let them stay with us until further decision. In the afternoon, we gave chase to five or six bears, which took to the water as soon as they saw us, and so escaped. In the evening, we again gave chase three or four times to troops of bears; sometimes there were three or four together, but we could not capture any. We find them so shy now, that as soon as they perceive us they make off. During the past night and to-day, it froze so hard that in some places the bears walked across the newly-frozen ice. To-night, the wind was all over the compass, with clear weather.

On the 3rd, variable wind, with darkness and drift-snow. This morning, we again shot at a bear, but as they are shy of the tent, they do not come well within range. In the afternoon we saw two more cubs, upon which we fired, and then sallied out. They would not leave one another. When all the lances had been bent, they both left the strand-ice together for the bay, where we killed one; the other, continually coming up to the spot, and bleating, was given three or four lance-thrusts; and finally, seeing that he could not render his companion any assistance, he made off for Deadman's Island. We hauled the dead bear up, and then skinned it. To-day, I went with five of my comrades across the churchyard to the reef, and thus returning in front of the tents we perceived nothing.

On the 4th, the wind N.E., with tolerable cold. To-day, we had three or four bears, but as they were very shy, we could not capture any.

On the 5th, the wind S. and S. by E., with fine, clear tolerable weather; we gave chase to a bear that was behind our tent, but on perceiving us he fled. In the afternoon, we attempted to reach the Salad Mountain in the W., but found that the great inroads made by the ice



banking itself at the foot of the mountains, and the snow on top of it, rendered the valley so hard and slippery in some places, that it was impossible to get to the top of the mountain. We remarked that in the West Bay, and so far as we could see out to sea, it was all water. In the mouth of the said bay there was little ice, and so brittle that we scarcely trusted ourselves upon it. On his way thither, our carpenter fell through the ice, and whilst going to the tent he was pursued by a bear; having entered the tent, he saw the latter approaching the door, whereupon he seized a gun, and shot him in the body, the bear running all bleeding to the strand; shortly afterwards, with the aid of a candle-end, he again shot the same bear in the body, but the animal nevertheless escaped.

On the 6th, the wind S.E., and S.E. by S., with dark, dull weather. In the afternoon, a big bear came outside our tent, whom I hit with two bullets in such a manner that he remained lying on the ice a little way off the strand. Hacking the ice off at the edges, we made a rope fast to it, and dragged it to the strand; but on account of its weight we could not haul it up. We then fastened the rope on land, in order to do what was possible at high tide. In the evening, we saw bears near the Amsterdam kettles, whither we crept; shooting one of them with two balls in his body, we then killed him with lances. The cub that was there, being unwilling to leave the old one, was also killed with lances. During the night, we saw two more bears, who did not wait for us.

On the 7th, a warm S.E. breeze, with a cloudy sky. This morning I shot a bear in the hind leg, behind our tent, but he escaped us. In the afternoon, we again gave chase to a bear, who also escaped us; we then skinned the two bears killed yesterday. We saw several more bears upon Deadman's Island. In the evening, we saw an old bear with a cub; I shot the old one, and it was killed with

lances by the other men. The dam giving us enough to do, the cub escaped. We had occasionally most desirable winter weather ; we also observed that the North Bay had openings near the Archipelago, and further out to sea, but on the horizon we saw the gleam of ice. At night, fine weather ; during the dog-watch the look-out observed a bear, and fired at him, but missed.

On the 8th, the breeze from the N., with fine, bright weather. Three of our companions, therefore, went well armed to Deadman's Island, in order to see whether there was anything of profit or for refreshment to be got ; also to see whether any of the bears already wounded might not be found dead. On arriving there they saw many bears going in troops, like the cattle in the Netherlands ; but these, on seeing the men, stood up on their hind-legs, as did also the cubs beside them, which was curious to see. On our men coming nearer, they fled. They had pitched their camp behind a hill, and made large, deep pits in the ice and snow. They found there a carcass or tongue of a whale, which they had clawed up out of the ice to the length of a man, and had nearly devoured. I and the carpenter, having remained in the tent, observed five bears at the same time before our tent. An old one with its cub, as it seemed, coming towards our tent-door, we got our guns ready, and I sent a double charge into the body of the old one. The carpenter, also taking aim, hit the cub ; whereupon we immediately ran out with our lances. The old one, seeing that they were being pursued, both came down upon us. The carpenter, making a thrust, caught one of them in the mouth with his lance, which the bear dragged towards him and bent. We then went on either side of him, and lanced him by turns until he fell down dead. Meanwhile the dogs skirmished round the cub, giving it so much to do that it could not come near us to assist its dam ; but on seeing us approach, it

dic op Spitsbergen Overwintert zijn.

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doet gheleest; de Moer ons genoeg te doen gebende ist Jonge ontkomen / wy hadden somtijts ghetwens winter-wet; bemerkten mede dat de Noord-bahij by de Nessijpelle ende voort t' Zee- waerts openinge hadde / doch in den Ho-  
 rifont sagen wy't is blincken. 's Nachts bequaem weder; in de Donde-wacht vernam de waerker een Beer / daer van hem na is geschoten / maer niet geraekt.



Den 8 dito / het Windelen upt de Hoopdelijcker-handt met segoon licht weder: alsoen giugen 3 van ons Companions wel gemonteert na 't Noord-mannen Eylant / om te sien oster pers tot verberfinghe of profijt te bekomen was / als mede of men geen van de vorige gequetste beeren doet vinden soude / daer komende sagen veel beeren / gaende met trouwen als 't Dee in Nederlandt / het Volck vernemende giughen op hun achterste pooten / van gelijcke de Jonge neffens haer staen / dat kluchrig om sien was / ons volck nader komende zijn geblucht / de selbige hadden achter een geuvel hun leegher-plaets ghehouden / en groote diepe putten in 't Ijs ofte sneeuw gemaect. Sy vonden aldaer een romp ofte tonghe van een Walvis / die sy een Mans leughe upt het Ijs hadde op gekrabt ende by na op gegeten. Ick met den Timmerman in de Tent gebleven sijn.

From J. Segersz. van der Brugge's "Journael," 1635.

[British Museum copy, 10057. dd. 50. (13.)]

Reproduced for the Hakluyt Society by D. Macbeth.

escaped. We then returned to our tent, seeing on our way a number of bears amongst and upon the ice-floes, as well as upon the small island in the mouth of the bay,<sup>1</sup> sometimes ten or twelve together. We also observed three bears coming down upon us, so that we hastened to reach the tent, since we were very tired, and our lances quite in pieces. In the evening we saw a big bear near the aforesaid dead one, running to and fro, and clawing the body as if he wished to make it rise. He stood still, three or four times growling fearfully, and came towards our tent, which gave us matter for speculation. I presumed that they had been a pair. At night, variable wind, with temperate weather.

On the 9th, the wind and weather as before, with a calm but cloudy sky. To-day we skinned the three bears recently captured, getting more than a quarter of fat from them. For the sake of the above-mentioned bear, which had been hauled by us close in to the shore and made fast, we were obliged to dig the Amsterdam capstan out of the snow, with which we pulled the bear up on the ice. We saw bears on two or three different occasions, but they did not await our coming. Fine weather the whole of the day; moonlight in the evening.

On the 10th, the weather continued, with variable wind, from the S.W. and S.W. b. S., and a clear sky, so that I and five of my comrades climbed to the summit of the mountain right next to the valley, in which we had sometimes caught some fish. We had a clear view, so that we could distinctly see that the North Bay, from the W. side

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<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to identify this island, which is mentioned more than once. They saw it on their way over the ice from Deadman Island to Smeerenburg. It may have been the rock just off the north cape of Danes Island, marked S. Mid. Cape on modern charts. The old local maps of Smeerenburg mark islands which do not exist, and put Deadman Island and others far out of their proper place. See Note 1, p. 142.

of the land as far as the icebergs<sup>1</sup> on the other side, as well as the Archipelago, was all open water; likewise large openings and a few stretches of ice close to the shore, and also open water on the horizon. But in the N.E. there was much ice, but not high out of the water: so that I trow that, in the absence of hard frost or banking by wind, the ice will soon be out of the course of the fishing ships, which God grant! During this tour we saw only one bear and some birds, these being the first this year, and which we supposed to be lumbs,<sup>2</sup> circling high up in the air. With the ebb and flow of the tide the ice daily makes a great creaking and crackling.

On the 11th, the wind as before, and quite as cold. We perceived a few bears near our tent, but on seeing us they ran on. In the evening daylight departed with fiery rays, all horizontal. The ice out at sea still made a great crackling; the ice before our tent in the bay (although fast-bound) makes a great movement, so that I trow we shall soon have an open bay: for the fresh ice is not more than two or three feet thick, and very spongy, which surprised us, seeing that the water is so cold, and that it must be the latter which causes the thaw. In the morning the thaw commenced.

On the 12th, the wind S. b. E., S.S.E., and a pretty stiff cold, but boisterous and warm; sometimes rain. We saw a number of birds—gulls of various kinds. In the forenoon the carpenter and I went to the mountain to see if we could find anything; also to see how the ice stood both out at sea and in the bay. We saw there a bear, which escaped. The ice was separating itself in the West Bay and drifting out to sea. At night, weather as before.

On the 13th, the wind S., with clear weather. To-day

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<sup>1</sup> Kennedy and Fram glaciers.



four of our comrades went to the mountains. As the rocks were all wet, we got upon the West Salad Mountain with great peril. We saw that in the W. and W. b. S. all was ice-bound, but somewhat more to the S. there was clear water. We also saw the trail of reindeer, and the dog, getting scent of them, ran off. They saw that the dog had left a bloody trail right along a great reindeer track, which they followed for some time, finding at length that it ran down the mountain, passed across the plain at a considerable distance behind our tent, and ended in a gap in the ice in the North Bay. The snow had melted a good deal with the mild weather, so that the water stood around our tent. In the night the weather got very thick, with a W. and a W. b. N. wind.

On the 14th, the wind and weather as before, with some snow. We saw a bear before our tent, but as the powder in the guns had got wet, it escaped. We subsequently saw several more bears, but they did not come within range. In the evening the weather began to clear up, and continued so the whole night.

On the 15th, the wind S., with clear, mild weather. We saw a number of bears roaming about on the bay, upon three of which (that approached our tent) we made chase, and fired, but missed them. The sky now looks again as though it were going to freeze.

On the 16th, wind and weather as before. We saw many bears, but they shunned our tent. The bay was now again ice-bound; if this continues so, it is our intention to digress somewhat (*wat af te weyden*). In the night some snow fell.

On the 17th, wind and weather as before. We saw a number of bears far out bay-wards, sniffing and turning their heads towards the tent, and running away sideways like crabs. The sky was quite red the whole day, so that we doubted not we should be able to see the sun (if it



please God!) above the horizon and the mountains, in six or eight days. At night the weather continued as during the day.

On the 18th, quite calm, with an overcast sky. In the forenoon, five of us went to the mountains, but saw nothing except many troops of bears in the Houcker Bay.<sup>1</sup> We had some intention of crossing thither, but as we should have run the risk of breaking through, we returned to our tent. In the afternoon, four men again went to the mountains to see whether they could get on to the track of reindeer, which might serve as nourishment for our cook, who had scurvy in his legs. They returned to the tent in the evening, without having seen anything.

On the 19th, the wind S.W., with continual snow; we remained in our tent that day and night.

On the 20th, the wind S.E. and S.E. by S. Towards midday it cleared up. In the middle of the bay we saw, on repeated occasions, two bears fighting fiercely, clawing, biting, and growling at each other for quite an hour and a-half; three of our comrades went out upon them, but seeing the men, the bears parted. The party then went across the bay, where they shot two balls right through the body of a bear, the latter still escaping. Another bear diving in a gap in the ice, in order to get some carrion from the bottom, one of our men crept towards it, and had the misfortune to fall from the steep edge into the gap. The bear, on seeing this, stood up and got out, making off bay-wards. The man was got out with a deal of trouble, by lances being held out to him, and other means. For this reason, they were obliged to return, and before they got home everything on the man was frozen stiff. We

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<sup>1</sup> Houcker Bay is the modern Virgo Bay. Here the Cookery of Harlingen was afterwards built, and here Crouff anchored on May 20th. A booker (Finnish) was

also saw divers troops of bears behind and before our tent, but far beyond range. In the evening, for the first quarter, clear weather, with Northern light.

On the 21st, calm weather in the morning, with a clear view, wherefore four of our comrades went to Fair Haven to see whether they could get anything. On the way, they saw four or five bears, which, on catching sight of the men, ran away. As the snow was deep, and it was difficult marching, they returned to the tent towards the evening without having captured anything. About midday we saw, in various places, the shadows cast by the sun against the mountains.

On the 22nd, the breeze from the S., with a clear sky, so that two of our companions climbed up the mountain; they then saw the sun for the first time this year; but in the bay they could not get sight of it. In the W. and W. by N. there were many gaps; we hoped that with the next change in the wind, the ice would all depart. It now began again to freeze somewhat. In the night, the Northern light shot over the whole sky in a terrible manner.

On the 23rd, calm clear weather. During the day we saw a number of bears, but they did not come near the tent. In the evening I saw two reindeer a great way to the W. of our tent, whither we sent off the dog, who pulled one of them to the ground, but could not hold it. We followed the trail for a long way, until finally the dog came back to us; we then returned to the tent; but, if it please God, and the weather permits it, it is our intention to follow the trail to-morrow.

On the 24th, wind and weather as before, so that three of our companions followed up the trail made yesterday as far as the corner of the North Salad mountain, which they intended to ascend. But coming athwart the island that

lies in the mouth of the bay,<sup>1</sup> they were obliged to turn back, since they could not get along on the mountain, through the smoothness of the ice. Along the shore, at the foot of the mountain, the ice was broken up, and lay loose through the rise and fall of the tide.

On the 25th, enjoyable calm weather, with clear sky. In the afternoon a bear came, as far as we could make out, from Magdalena Bay, and followed our track to before the tent.<sup>2</sup> I fired at it, but as the trigger went off unexpectedly, I missed, and it escaped. We saw a number of bears beyond range of the tent.

On the 26th, milder weather, but we did nothing.

On the 27th, the weather as before. To-day, five of us went to the Houcker Bay to capture some bears. As we were creeping up to a bear, one of the guns accidentally went off, but, thank God! no one was hurt by it. We then walked about the country, and saw in high, steep places on the mountains great caves, where the bears had made their camp, two of our comrades getting up to them after much trouble. Towards evening, they returned to our tent. I heard that the men who had been left behind in the tent had seen the sun.<sup>3</sup>

On the 28th, the wind S.W., dark weather, and drift-snow. In the afternoon, S. b. E., and S.S.E. We were not out of the tent the whole day.

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<sup>1</sup> It seems hard to reconcile this position for "the island in the mouth of the bay" with that implied above, unless the West or South Salad Hill was meant. There is no island in the North Bay. The trail of the 23rd went westwards.

<sup>2</sup> The track referred to must have been that made on the 21st, when they went to Fair Haven, doubtless along the east shore of Danes Island.

<sup>3</sup> Another proof that we have rightly indicated the position of Houcker Bay. The five men who went there would have been on slopes facing north, and so could not have seen the sun low down in

*March.*

On the 1st of March, the wind S.W., with dark weather and drift-snow. In the evening, the wind rose out of the S. quarter.

On the 2nd, wind and weather as before. This morning we found that, through the strong wind, there was much opening in the North Bay. In the afternoon, we gave chase to three bears that escaped.

On the 3rd, wind and weather as before. The ice near the fort began to separate. In the afternoon, intending to go to the strand, I perceived a great bear near the W. side of our tent, wherefore I again went inside. As I took the gun in my hand, in order to shoot, the bear retreated behind the tent, but I sent two balls into him near his jaw-bone. He immediately fell down, stretching out his fore-paws to his head; we ran out to him with lances, and gave him some thrusts in the body; but since we did not hit him well, and as he was also enraged by the barking of the dogs, he got up again. Aleff Wilhelmsz., desiring to thrust at him again, had his lance rendered useless, the bear springing towards him. The man began to shout, and fell down, whereupon Jan Kunst ran up to rescue his comrade. The said bear made such a to-do with howling and springing, that he still escaped us, and remained standing some time longer on the ice-floes out bay-wards. We had never had such a hard set-to with bears. We found the slime of his snout on our comrade's clothes behind, so that we could not longer have put off rescuing him: wherefore God be thanked! At night a strong wind, with drift-snow.

On the 4th, a stiff breeze from the S.W., with constant drift-snow. The ice in the bay, as far as the shore itself, is all drifting, and has a large number of gulls upon it.

We made some whips<sup>1</sup> in order to try and get some as nourishment for our cook, whose scurvy is much worse. About noon we gave chase to some bears, but captured none.

On the 5th, in the morning, the wind N.E., with tolerable cold. This morning we saw some walruses for the first time in the opening; as the water was frozen, we saw no probability of being able to do anything with the shallop. Towards noon we again cooked a piece of reindeer flesh, with plums and raisins, and it was as well flavoured as if it had just been killed. In the evening there was great pressure of the ice before our tent; we also saw a couple of bears, but captured none.

On the 6th, the wind as before, with a fairly clear view; sometimes much drift-snow, which was set in motion by squalls of wind from the mountains. The ice drifted out of the bay to seawards. This evening we boiled a beverage of salad, which our cook was to drink for the scurvy.

On the 7th, wind and water as before. In the afternoon the wind veered to the E., with a clear sky. We saw a bear upon the ice before our tent, and had a piece of warm meat placed in a salt trough before the tent-door, in order to see whether he would be attracted by the smell; but he kept back upon the strand, and after much sniffing he retreated.

On the 8th, the wind E., with frost and bitter cold. In the evening we saw three bears near our tent, two of which came upon the strand. Two of us sent a double charge into the body of one of them, and then attacked it with lances; it remained lying on the spot, and the others seeing this took to flight.

On the 9th, the wind and cold as before. In the morn-

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<sup>1</sup> Birds in Spitsbergen allow men to come within a few yards of them, so that a long whip might suffice to strike them down.

ing the men skinned the bear killed the day before. In the forenoon, divers bears made their appearance near our tent, but remained beyond range. In the evening we perceived an old bear and its cub. I shot the old one, and the cub, being unwilling to leave its mother, was also shot, and both were killed with lances. By reason of the darkness and the bitter cold, we left them unskinned until a better opportunity. Our men also complained that some of their fingers had become frozen whilst skinning the bears. During the night the cold increased, with a sharp N.E. wind.

On the 10th, a strong wind from the E. b. N. and E.N.E., with sharp frost and bitter cold, so that the West Bay was again ice-bound, and overrun in all directions with bears. We gave chase to the latter several times, sometimes there being three or four together, but did not capture any. We also took our stove to pieces, as it was greatly in our way, and also because the greater part of the winter and darkness was past. Moreover, in the event of an extremely cold short snap, we could take refuge in the Amsterdam tent, but hoped for better times.

On the 11th, the wind easterly, clear sunshine with hard frost, bitter cold, and many whirlwinds of snow blowing down from the mountains.

On the 12th, wind and weather as before; during the past twenty-four hours we have given chase to various troops of bears, but have captured none. The dog belonging to the Delft Chamber had a large strip of skin torn away from his hind leg near the belly by a bear; we are very grieved at it, as they rendered us much service. In the evening, the wind veered more to the S., with an overcast sky and milder weather. We caught many foxes daily, by making snares around the dead bears, from which the foxes got their food; this causing us diversion, we made prisoners of the same, and have a number in the loft, in



order to consume some of their fat, and also in order that we may not be without resources when the bay opens, or any illness sets in.

On the 13th, the wind S., with an overcast sky, and snowy weather; we saw a number of bears, but they never came near our tent. In the evening we captured a white fox that was bitten to death by the dog. In the night, the wind was N.E.

On the 14th, the wind N.E., with a dark sky. This morning we commenced to dig our shallop out of the snow; we hacked it free, and after much trouble got it out with the capstan. Early in the evening we thought we could see a dead whale in the mouth of the West Bay, since it rose high and black out of the water; but as there was no chance of going to examine it with the shallop, we put it off till next day; after sunset, it got beyond our range of vision.

On the 15th, the wind N.E., with a fair view. About midday, I shot a bear. It immediately ran bay-wards, where it fell down and died, having its neck and body full of sores and holes. We presumed that it had got these in fighting with others; we cut its belly open, and got out much fat and lard with its entrails. In the evening I saw, at some distance behind our tent, two reindeer; to these we gave chase, and sent the dog after them; since, however, they made off towards the mountain with the dog, and crossed the iceberg,<sup>1</sup> and night was at hand, we returned without longer following the dog or the reindeer. Near the tent, a bear made its appearance; we gave chase to it, but it escaped. In the evening, the moon was almost totally obscured; this being a day later than the almanack makes mention of the eclipse, we trow we must be a day out in

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<sup>1</sup> A glacier on Amsterdam Island, probably the same as that mentioned in the preceding page.

our reckoning. During the first quarter the wind rose, with much drift-snow, so that I feared the dog would not find its way back.

The 16th, the wind E., with severe cold, frost, and drift-snow. In the morning we saw a bear standing devouring portions of the one skinned yesterday. We shot him in the hind leg, but as soon as he perceived our men, who came up with lances, he took to flight.

On the 17th, wind and weather as before, so that it was impossible to go and look for the dog before the weather became somewhat milder.

On the 18th, wind and weather as before. In the morning another bear came to eat, in the bay, of the last killed bear; we set off towards him, but as soon as he perceived us he took to flight. We shot many foxes daily, for the refreshment of our cook, in order that he might eat them for the scurvy; the foxes being skinned, we let them freeze for two or three days in the wind, and then cook them partly with plums and raisins; some we stewed, with pepper and vinegar, in a pan.

On the 19th, wind and weather as before. To-day, we again ate a salad, which was still of very good flavour, and had not decomposed much at all.

On the 20th, the wind as before; the weather seemed to clear up somewhat, so that five of us went to the mountains, walked over the iceberg<sup>1</sup> for two or three hours, and found no means of getting on to the North Salad Mountain. It also began to blow very suddenly and hard, with squalls; we could therefore go no further upon the iceberg, nor could we recognize our trail, on account of the whirling snow, which the wind sends down from the mountain. We stood there looking before us as if the plank had been

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<sup>1</sup> Probably the Anna glacier which would have to be crossed to

hauled up, for we had little provision of biscuits with us. In view of the small chance of getting off, we were then in great peril, for none of us had heard of people ever having been there. Through the intense cold, some of us bled from the nose on the way; others complained that their toes were frozen; others fell several times into the cracks of the iceberg,<sup>1</sup> and held themselves up with their lances on the other side; some of these cracks we gauged at sight to be 10, 20, or 30 fathoms deep. Since the drift-snow lay over these cracks, we could not avoid them; but God aided us in marked manner, and brought us down from thence. On reaching the tent, one of our comrades complained that his toes were frozen, and rubbed them with snow, getting at length some feeling back into them; the toes were quite white, at which the man would have been very grieved. Another complained of his ears, but through God's mercy all came right again. On the aforesaid iceberg, we did indeed see the trail of the reindeer, and that of the dog, but we could not perceive either anywhere.

On the 21st, the wind S.E., and S.E. b. S.; with dark sky and drift-snow; the South Bay was again entirely closed with snow-covered ice. In the evening, the wind S.W.

On the 22nd, the wind S. and S.W., with tolerable weather. To-day, we gave chase two or three times to bears, but as they had played at the game before, we could never get within range of them. Early in the evening the dog, after having been absent eight days and nights in the mountains, returned to the tent, whereat we were glad; the dog had grown so lean that it did not look like the same one. We saw fourteen or sixteen bears together on the coast, who were having a great fight.

On the 23rd, the wind easterly, an overcast sky, and

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<sup>1</sup> Crevasses in the glacier.

tolerable weather. We saw many bears, to which we gave chase; they remained together in troops of five or six, and as soon as they perceived us, got upon the ice-floes, standing on their hind legs; but on seeing that we approached them, they took to flight.

On the 24th, the wind E., and N.E., with tolerable weather. In the afternoon, very calm, with a clear sky. Three of our companions having gone out hunting, perceived some bears in the gaps of the ice, who were getting up some carcasses of whales that had sunk six or seven fathoms deep; they tried to capture the bears, but were not successful. We imagined we saw some reindeer on the coast of the North Bay, but as we were afraid of some split in the ice, and the evening was at hand, we made no further attempt.

On the 25th, the wind N.E., intense cold, and drift-snow. To-day, we perceived a bear upon the ice in front of our tent; he made for the Amsterdam boats, but we intercepted him, and sent two balls into his body, so that he fell dead on the spot. It was a big bear, with terrible nails and claws, such as we had never captured before; we skinned him at once, but had never got so little grease as from this one. We afterwards perceived a number of other bears, none of which came within range. In the evening the wind abated, with a clear sky. Some of our companions had their fingers frost-bitten whilst skinning the bear, and this happened more than once; a few days ago the skin came off their fingers.

On the 26th, the wind S.E., with a tolerably clear sky. We thought that we had seen some reindeer at a considerable distance behind our tent, and one of our companions went off after them, but he could not perceive any. Whilst returning the man observed a bear near the reef, whither four of us proceeded, and found the same diving in a hole or gap in search of food. Whilst we were getting our-

selves ready he caught sight of us, climbed upon the ice, and came towards us. When he was six or seven paces from us two of us fired a double charge into his body; whereupon he, bleeding freely, took to his heels, the blood flowing from him both at the belly and the snout. He got into a gap and swam, and remained lying a long time on the ice on the other side. We also saw divers troops of bears coming from the mountains and making for us; we gave chase to them, whereupon they escaped us. In the afternoon three of our companions went to see whether the bear, which, as related above, lay diving in the gap, might not be lying dead upon the ice. On arriving there, they found the bear standing by a gap, into which he got and came towards them, climbing up an incline of ice three or four fathoms high, and four times still did they shoot him with double charges in the body. After each shot he would jump from the said incline into the gap, and then again approach them, but at length he remained lying in the gap, which was not easy to get at. In the evening we again gave chase to bears that did not wait for us.

On the 27th, the wind S.E., with a thaw and a clouded sky. About midday the wind S. The ice in the mouth of the West Bay began to break up. Towards the evening a westerly breeze. We saw two bears approaching the back of our tent—an old one with its cub, which we shot, and then killed with lances. Two of our companions afterwards went some distance from the tent, and found a big bear lying diving in a gap, upon which they durst make no attack.

On the 28th, the wind N.E., with tolerable cold; we perceived a number of bears, but never within range. The West Bay is again quite full of ice. Through God's mercy and eating foxes, our cook is again on his legs. Since we found the foxes to be good eating and of fine flavor, I

for a change, and not because I really required it, ate with our cook.

On the 29th, wind and weather as before. In the evening, during the first watch, we heard a bear clawing at our tent, at which we awoke, but on becoming aware of our presence he made off.

On the 30th, the wind and weather changeable, but mostly S.E. and S.W., with drift-snow. About mid-day we came upon a young bear behind the Flushing tent; after having been shot with six balls in the body, and lanced, he died. On account of the variable weather, we left him unskinned. Early in the evening many bears roamed around our tent. The ice in the North Bay broke up entirely.

On the 31st, the wind from the southern quarter, with a thaw. To-day we gave chase on four different occasions, but captured nothing. In the evening the ice broke up to just before our tent.

### *April.*

The 1st of April, the wind S.W., with a strong gale, whereby a great opening came in the Bay, and the ice floated out seawards. In the evening, drift-snow and drizzling damp weather.

On the 2nd, the wind as before. This morning we gave chase to a bear, and, notwithstanding that he got four balls in his body, he still managed to escape. Towards the evening we again prepared a salad, which we found to be still of very good flavour. The ice in the West Bay has mostly floated out.

On the 3rd, the wind and weather as before. This morning one of our companions gave chase to a bear that was lying asleep upon the ice, but it got away. We then perceived another before our tent, which, after being shot by us, betook itself to the water: since there was no chance



of lancing him I proceeded to shoot him dead. Creeping over the ice-floes we got to him, and made him fast to a rope, which we wound up with the capstan on the edge of the ice. We also saw two walruses in the bay.

On the 4th, wind and weather as before; we saw much ice outside the North Bay and the West Bay, and the sea breaking very much upon the reef, so that we presumed there was not much ice close to the land on the W. In the evening we gave chase to a bear. To-day I read to the whole company the diary kept by me, with which they could find no fault.

On the 5th, the weather as before. The ice still floats continually up and down with the tide. In the evening the wind veered to the N.

On the 6th, the wind as before, with fog and drift-snow. With the southerly wind the ice departed out to sea, so that in the afternoon we launched our shallop for the first time this year, and five of us rowed to the West Bay, where I shot four or five pigeons,<sup>1</sup> or plungeons, with which we returned to our lodge. For lack of shot we melted our tin drinking-can and the lead of the Middelburg gutter, which we had to dig up six or eight feet out of the snow.

On the 7th, the wind N.W., with drizzling weather and a cold air. Before breakfast three of us gave chase in the shallop to two walruses; as we found a deal of broken ice in the water, the shallop could not get along. The walruses took to the depths, and after we had rowed some time they escaped. About noon we again gave chase to two walruses, the old one of which was shot by Jan Kunst and lanced; the young one made a great wailing for its dam, to and from which it continually swam. We cut the old one's head off, knocked the teeth out, which were about a

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<sup>1</sup> The whalers gave this name to the black guillemot, or tystie (*Uria Grylle*).

yard long and whereof they have only two in the upper jaw, and with which they had knocked several holes in the shallop. In the evening we gave chase to two walruses, who did not await our coming; on our return I shot some plungeons. Whilst loading the gun my fingers got frozen, and felt totally dead, but got better.

On the 8th, wind and weather as before, with greater and more intense cold, wherefore the bay lay full of ice. In the afternoon we again gave chase to two walruses, who escaped us; we again shot some pigeons, which, prepared with plums and in other ways, are of very good flavour.

On the 9th, wind and weather as before. This morning a young bear was again eating of the walrus. I shot it in the head with two balls, so that it fell dead on the ice. In the afternoon we were compelled by the frost to haul our shallop, the walrus, and the captured bear up on the land or ice-bank by means of the capstan; on account of the bitter cold we left them unskinned. When the sun was in the N.W. we saw two bears, to which we gave chase, and captured one. In the evening we baked rye cakes instead of buckwheat ones; our cook has also resumed his duties, since, by God's mercy and eating foxes, he is nearly restored to health.

On the 10th, the wind N.E., with drift-snow and severe cold. The bay was totally frozen over, and to such a depth that the bears made their way across it; in some places we saw the walruses beating through it with their heads.

On the 11th, wind and weather as before. When the moon was in the S. we saw two bears, but beyond range. To-day we burnt our last coal, with the exception of some large pieces which we kept to lay in the shallop, in the event of being shut in by ice when in the shallop, and compelled to set up our tent there. In the evening we cooked the walrus tongue (recently captured), stewed it

with pepper and vinegar, and ate it; it was of very good flavour, but some of the men would not taste it. Our turf can (according to guess) last us some six or eight days longer; we shall then look about for something to burn, and in the event of not finding anything, shall have to pull down the tents.<sup>1</sup>

On the 12th, the wind as before, and the cold more intense, so that no one would go outside the tent, or to bed at night for fear of getting his feet frozen. In the evening we again shot at a bear,

The 13th, wind and weather as before, with hard frost. In the evening, when the sun was in the N.N.W., a bear and two cubs, about a foot and a half high, stood before our tent, eating of the walrus; the old one was shot at by Jan Kunst with a double charge, and immediately after the shot made off to the ice-bank bay-wards, abandoning the cubs. With great trouble we got ropes fastened round the body of both of them, after they had, in the manner of the old ones, sought to defend themselves with their claws. We placed them in the loft of the Middelburg tent, howling very much for their mother, who appeared several times near our tent, but remained beyond range.

On the 14th, the wind S.E., with tolerable cold. In the evening we again saw the mother of the bears captured yesterday, but she still remained far from the tent.

On the 15th, the wind southerly, with tolerable cold. To-day, for lack of fuel, we dug an old ship's cabin up out of the snow, and made firewood of it. In the afternoon clear weather, with warm sunshine. I found that my gums and those of others were much swollen; we washed them occasionally with lemon-juice, and also ate some foxes.

On the 16th, the wind S.E., with a clear sky. In accordance with ancient custom, we kept our Easter, cooking &

pickled ham and preparing a bowl of hot wine punch, with which we made us merry. We observed that with this southerly wind the ice was breaking quickly, and a good deal drifting out to sea ; from the top of the tent we could see little ice out at sea.

On the 17th, calm weather, with clear sunshine, so that six of us climbed up the mountains, which was a very difficult matter, since the water caused by the thaw, having afterwards frozen, made it very slippery walking. Three of us rolled down again ; our three other comrades, getting to the top, saw little ice to seaward and in the bay, so that had there been any ships thereabouts they would, in all probability, have been quite able to come to the bay. A bear, keeping in the neighbourhood of the tent, did not come within range. We again cooked a piece of reindeer, with a great deal of gravy, in which we mixed some lemon-juice ; we drank it up together with the fat and all, and it gave us a good purging ; the meat we stewed with plums and raisins, and it was still of very good flavour. We fed the young bears we had captured with foxes, and sometimes with a piece of the walrus. After the cook had finished work, we remained for the first time without a fire till the evening.

On the 18th, calm, warm weather, with clear sunshine. In the afternoon, the wind N.E., but little breeze ; when the sun was in the N.W., I again shot a bear, after I had stalked the same behind a shallop. It was then killed with lances by the rest of the men, and immediately skinned, the skin and fat, both inside and outside, being all put away safely.

On the 19th, the wind changeable. With the sun in the N.N.E., we saw two bears near the tent, one of which we shot. Not long afterwards, another bear came up to the killed one ; we shot at it, but missed. When the sun stood N.E. we shot another bear, and then killed it with lances ; it was immediately skinned, and the skin and fat put safely

away. As the barrel of the long gun was bent and burst, we took it out, and put in its place the barrel of a musket.

On the 20th, the wind easterly, with a clear sky, wherefore four of the men went to the mountains. They told me they had seen a great deal of ice out at sea: perceiving nought else they returned.

On the 21st, the wind N.E., with a clear sky. As the West Bay was open as far as the reef, we took our shallop overland to that place, and launched it, rowing in it to the mouth of the said bay, where we climbed up the mountains, but could see no ice to seaward. We were also in hopes of getting some reindeer on the mountains, but perceiving none we returned, after having been out for four or five hours. The wind blowing down in sharp squalls from the high land, we had difficulty in keeping our course in the shallop; the said wind was very cold; but during the lulls the sun shone very warm. Near the reef, we again hauled our shallop a good distance overland.

On the 22nd, the wind as before, with frost, and bitter cold.

On the 23rd, calm weather, with warm sunshine, wherefore five of us launched the shallop, intending to capture some walruses, numbers of which we saw lying on the ice, both in the mouth of the bay and out at sea. When we were near the middle of the bay, we found it entirely covered with new-frozen ice, through which we could not row with the shallop. We were compelled to return, and to haul up the shallop at the place from which we had started, for in front of our tent the bay was still quite ice-bound. On coming home, some took off their clothes in the sun, in order to wash, others lay down to sleep upon a plank on the snow, in front of our tent. The blubber in the boats melted in many places, so that we held that it could not be finer weather this day in the home country.

On the 24th, calm weather, with an overcast sky. In the evening, something of a breeze sprang up from the S.

On the 25th, wind and weather as before. In the evening it began to snow somewhat.

On the 26th, the wind N.W., with snow and cold. As we could not get a proper aim with the harpoon at a walrus, to which we were giving chase, we shot it with two balls upon the ice; as if unwounded, it immediately took to the water. At high tide the ice began to part somewhat. We then made ready, for fishing before our tent, the shallop belonging to the Middelburg Chamber.

On the 27th, the wind N.W., with tolerably good weather. In the forenoon, five of us gave chase to two walruses in the West Bay, but they did not await our coming. We then rowed to the mouth of the said bay, intending, if it were possible, to go to Robben Bay, to see whether some walruses, bears, or anything could be got that might yield some profit. On the way we found a great deal of newly-frozen, but broken, ice, through which it was impossible to get with our shallop, wherefore we returned. We shot some pigeons. In the evening, the first whales (thank God!) made their appearance in the bay; they were two in number, but not very large.<sup>1</sup> They took their course close to the shore, into the North Bay (under the ice). We then got the shallop ready for fishing, in order to do something at the first opportunity. The foxes which we have now seen for some days were very bare, their hair falling out and turning another colour.

On the 28th, the wind N.W. To-day, we gave chase, on divers occasions, to walruses, once to three together, upon which one of our companions fired, whilst running along the broken ice, but as the line was too short they escaped. In the evening, the wind veered to the S., so that the ice

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<sup>1</sup> The last whales had been seen on Oct. 27th.



began to make its way somewhat out of the North Bay. In the afternoon, the wind N., with drift-snow.

On the 29th, the wind and weather as before, whereby the said West Bay received a good deal of ice. In the night, the watch saw another whale near the tent.

On the 30th, the wind variable, with frost and drift-snow. The bay is still filled, as heretofore, right up to our tent with ice, which flows in and out with the tide; we therefore presumed there was not much ice close to the land, since, in spite of the N. wind, we have, strange to say, seen but little ice up to now. By reason of the dark, murky, overcast sky, we have seen no sun for five or six days. To-day, we cooked some large grey gulls, which we had previously shot upon the dead bears, where they were eagerly seeking their food.

#### *May.*

On the 1st of May, wind and weather as before, so that we could do nothing either on land or water. I therefore gave the men two cans of good beer, and a bowl of warm wine, telling them to inaugurate the Spitsbergen Fair therewith.

On the 2nd, the wind variable, with tolerably fair weather; I therefore let the men climb up the mountains. They reported that they could see nothing but a deal of ice out at sea. About midday, fog and strong wind, wherefore we did not go out. In the evening, the wind N., with fog, intense cold, and frost.

On the 3rd, variable wind, with drift-snow and frost. When the sun was in the E., we saw a bear, with a small cub; but the dog, seeing and hearing us get ready, ran out of doors, and drove them away. Before our tent, as far as the Houcker Bay, the ice still lies entirely fast. In the gaps there are countless numbers of mountain ducks,<sup>1</sup> but very shy, and difficult to capture.

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<sup>1</sup> Eider-ducks (*Somateria mollissima*).

On the 4th, the frost and the weather continued as before. The bay remained ice-bound, so that we could row nowhere with the shallop.

On the 5th, the wind and weather as before, with drift-snow and frost. In the evening, the wind N.E., with a stiff breeze and sharp frost.

On the 6th, the wind N.E., with continual drift-snow, so that we could not see before us, wherefore we remained in the tent. We feared that with the N. wind, much ice would press against the land, if it continued; it might well be that the ships would arrive late at the fishing ground, but the wind can, with God's help, soon alter that.

On the 7th, the wind N.E., with continual drift-snow. When the sun was about S.E., we saw a bear standing eating of the walrus; we shot him in the body with a double charge, but he ran off towards the bay. He was afterwards shot by our carpenter, when he lost a great deal of blood from his muzzle, and other parts; he climbed on to some large ice-floes, where, as far as we could see, he died. In the evening, it cleared up a little.

On the 8th, the wind N.E., with clear sunshine and tolerable cold, so that four of us climbed up the mountains in the West Bay, whence we could see nothing but ice out at sea, but not so close in the W. and W. b. S. as in the N. Not being able to perceive anything else, we slid from high up the mountain to the bottom on the snow. The sun gave so much warmth that the men took off their clothes on the snow to clean them. With the sun in the N.N.W., we saw a bear which, having been shot in the body six times with double volleys, died among the ice. We immediately hauled him up on the land, and ripped him open, but he was very lean.

On the 9th, the wind as before, with drift-snow, hard frost, and bitter cold.

On the 10th, the wind N.E., with drift-snow. In the

dog-watch, the carpenter woke me up, telling me a bear was standing eating of the walrus, whereupon I took aim. The gun missing five or six times, the said bear set off towards the bay upon the ice, through which he fell, and was finally killed by the said carpenter with the third shot. Four of us went thither over the newly-frozen ice to make a rope fast to it, but it was drawn under the ice by the current, and drifted away.

On the 11th, the wind N.E., with a fairly clear sky. About midday, we perceived a bear upon the strand, standing eating of the walrus we had captured some time ago; he was frightened away by the noise made in opening the door.

On the 12th, the wind as before, with frost and a bright, clear sky; we hoped, however, to have a change of wind with the full moon, so that the ice might float out to sea, and we might do something by launching the shallop. I was told that our carpenter had seen a whale in the West Bay.

On the 13th, the wind S. and S.E., with bright sunshine. To-day we dug up out of the snow the bears we had shot (and which we had left unskinned during the winter, on account of the severe cold), in order that they might thaw in the sun, skinning also one side of the walrus, and placing the other side, which was hard frozen, in the sun. We then cleaned the Middelburg tent, placing the bear-skins which we had brought there on the snow to air. In the evening S.W. wind, with little breeze; fine weather.

On the 14th, the wind N.E., with a dark overcast sky. Before the West Bay we could, strange to say, see no ice, but from the reef to the mouth of the same it was full, with the exception of a few gaps in front of our tent; the North Bay was also entirely ice-bound and closed.

On the 15th, the wind and weather as before. At noon we got our shallop, after much trouble, through and over

the ice into the gap where we gave chase to the walruses that lay further off among the ice-floes; wherefore we could not well come up to them with the shallop. Our Norwegian shot one of them in the head with two balls; it immediately made off seawards, having received no injury; if the skin is not stretched, it is difficult to shoot through it. Whilst returning I shot two mountain ducks. It is very difficult to get within shot of these birds, except by rowing amongst them with the shallop, as they sit behind the ice-floes. They must also be shot dead outright, or have to be rowed after with great trouble, since they dive in an incredible manner.

On the 16th, the wind N.E., with an overcast sky. To-day we gave chase to walruses, seals, and mountain ducks, but captured none. We, however, also cleaned the Amsterdam and other tents, where we had formerly often met, and whereby some snow had got into the said tents.

On the 17th, wind and weather as before. In the afternoon we made chase upon walruses and seals, but captured none. Through the strong current we were in great danger in the shallop, since some pieces of ice, which at low tide lay at the bottom in some 10 or 12 fathoms of water, got loose at high tide, and could easily have pressed our boat to pieces between them. We were therefore compelled to jump out of the shallop, and to haul it up on the ice, as offering the least danger.

On the 18th, the wind as before, with dull weather. We rowed out in the shallop to capture something. We saw some flocks of ducks; we shot at them and got one. We also fired at some seals, but none was hit. Whilst returning, we found the bear we had shot on the 10th inst., and hauled it up on the shore with the capstān.

On the 19th, the wind N.E., an overcast sky, and drift-snow. In the evening we rowed to get mountain ducks,

but could not get within range of any. In the night a severe gale from the S.W., with continual drift-snow.

On the 20th, wind and weather as before. As far as we could observe, the North Bay began to have an opening as far as the islands of the Archipelago; also the West Bay. The ice near the reef came right before our tent, likewise the ice from the shore-line and Deadman's Island. In the evening our men captured some fowl, both mountain ducks and burgomasters,<sup>1</sup> or large grey gulls: which gulls we often shoot upon the dead bears lying before our tent; for they feed upon the latter.

On the 21st, the wind S.W., with sharp squalls and continual snow; we cooked the game we had got with plums. In the evening it cleared up somewhat.

On the 22nd, wind and weather as before; we could not yet perceive that we had got any opening through this wind. Much snow fell to-day. In the evening we rowed behind some pieces of ice in the hope of getting some walruses, seals, or something else; whilst returning we shot a mountain duck.

On the 23rd, a stiff breeze from the N. At night, with the sun in the N., we got a bear, which, after having received three shots on the shore, betook himself to the water. We rowed after him with the shallop; after a long chase, and having received various other shots and lance-thrusts, he died in the water.<sup>2</sup> We towed him to land, and hauled him up on shore with the capstan, skinning him at once, and placing the fat and skin in a safe place. Several female bears have been entirely cut open by us in order to find any unborn young, but we have never done so; moreover, it is written that bears are delivered of a piece of

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<sup>1</sup> The Glaucous Gull (*Larus glaucus*).

<sup>2</sup> This appears to have been the twenty-ninth bear or cub killed and not lost by them during the winter. They also caught two cubs alive.



flesh, which, being licked after nine days by the mother, takes the form of a bear.<sup>1</sup>

On the 24th, the wind as before, with mild weather. About midday we saw some white whales in the bay, coming from the west. We would have given chase to them, but before we had launched the shallop they got under the ice. We then cleared out our living tent, the floor of which was very much broken, and laid down in it one hundred and twenty-five stones from the Amsterdam tent. Having scoured the tables and benches, we left the loft as it was (which hung as thick with flocks of soot as the trees with leaves) in order that it might be attended to when the lodge was being put up for the following year. We also skinned the walrus. In the evening we rowed out in the shallop, in order to see whether there was nothing to be got, proceeding some distance in the West Bay, until we could get no further on account of the ice, when we climbed high up on the mountains, and could—strange to say—see no ice outside the bay; but in the bay itself and in the N. all was ice. Upon our return we found our passage cut off and entirely ice-bound, so that we had with great difficulty to drag our shallop through and over it. We were almost resolved to haul our shallop on to some ice-floes, which were fast to the ground some seven or eight fathoms deep, and betake ourselves to land across the ice-floes by means of planks and oars.

On the 25th, the wind N. In the afternoon I and five others rowed to the South Salad Mountain, with the intention of capturing some reindeer; as there was a heavy surf, we durst not land in the shallop. Whilst returning we were caught by some sharp squalls of wind from the mountains, so that we feared the shallop would be capsized by the bounding of the waves, against which it was difficult to

<sup>1</sup> This is the legend told of the lion in the old Bestiaries.



row. Near our tent we shot two mountain ducks. In the evening one of our companions saw a great whale, which, coming out of the ice from the N., made his way into the bay.

On the 26th the wind N.E., with frost and continual drift-snow, so that during the evening the snow lay before our tent half the length of a man.

On the 27th, the wind variable, with tolerable weather. About noon I perceived a shallop with men, at which we were all very glad, thanking God that He had preserved us so long, and protected us from all dangers. These were the first we had seen in nine months, less five days, and we spoke them. They said they were from Commandeur Cornelis Crouff's vessel, which was then still before Robben Bay. We sent their commander a piece of our dried reindeer flesh, and presented him with a salad. We also learnt that at the Foreland, about sixteen or eighteen miles from the bay, they had sent off a shallop which, on account of contrary winds, had not yet been seen by us. In the evening the aforesaid Crouff came to anchor before the West Bay.

On the 28th, the wind as before, with frost. To-day the said Crouff came to our tent; they were greatly surprised at our mode of living and good health, the honour of which is due to God alone.

On the 29th, wind and weather as before. With the sun in the W., it seemed to quiet down somewhat, wherefore all of us rowed by invitation to the said Crouff's vessel, after they had stationed three shallops on the S., and three on the N., near the rocks, for fishing. Two of us were then excellently regaled in the cabin, and the other five of our companions honourably treated to two pints of beer, my thanks for which I present to the said Crouff. I then heard that the above-mentioned shallop, which had put out at the Foreland, had already reached the ship, bringing

three reindeer, with some walrus heads, for the sake of the teeth; of the captured reindeer we got nothing for our refreshment. After an hour's stay, we [took our departure. On arriving at the tent] one of our companions, wishing to get the oars out of our shallop (which had previously been hauled overland), sank into the snow beyond his depth; we crept up to him by means of the oars, and held one out to him to enable him to climb up. During the night the said Crouff towed up with his vessel to before Houcker Bay, and came to anchor there, digging their shallop up out of the snow.<sup>1</sup> I also heard that two shallops lying in the W. had been washed away. The North Bay was still entirely ice-bound.

On the 30th, a dead calm. To-day the aforesaid Crouff rowed with his shallop to Magdalena Bay. In the afternoon we gave chase to divers walruses, none of which we captured. During the night five more ships, the Admiral, Rear-Admiral, and two others, came to anchor in the West Bay.

On the last day of May, the wind S. This morning the ice in the North Bay began to set out to sea. In the evening, General Cornelis Pietersz. Ys and Jan Mathijsz. Steen came to anchor in the North Bay, and welcomed each other with a salute.

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<sup>1</sup> This must have been one of the shallops laid up for the winter before the Cookery of Harlingen

END OF THE JOURNAL.

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## Materials, Victuals, Ammunition, and other things for the use during nine months of seven persons left to winter on the land of Spitsbergen.

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FIRST, thirteen firkins of hard bread. A small barrel of white biscuits. Two kegs of butter. A firkin of twenty-five cheeses. A small barrel of fifteen cheeses. Three firkins of oatmeal. Three firkins of white peas. A firkin and a small barrel of grey ones. Five firkins of stockfish. Five casks of meat. A barrel of bacon. Fourteen firkins of ship's beer. Two small barrels of good beer. Two kegs of brandy. An awm of French wine. A firkin of vinegar. Two barrels of salt. Half a barrel of brine. Six stoops of olive oil. Ten pounds of sugar. Six and a half stoops of lemon-juice. Twenty pounds of tobacco. Six dozen pipes. Fifty pounds of plums. Two pounds of long raisins. Four pounds of round ones. A pound of ginger. A pound of pepper. A quarter of a pound of nutmeg. Two ounces of cinnamon. An ounce of cloves. An ounce of mace. A keg of mustard seed. Half a kilderkin of soap. Six or eight pounds of candles. A hundred and twenty planks. A barrel filled with cooking utensils and some nails, etc. Thirty bushels of Scotch coal. Twenty-five bushels of peat. Three fathoms of firewood. A keg of phosphor. A copper lamp. A bunch of cotton. A stove and its accessories. Six wooden spades. Two lined spades. Two wood-axes. A cooking kettle. A copper pan and some earthenware pots. Two hanging compasses. Three shallop's compasses. Two

four-hour glasses. Six half-hour glasses. A wooden pail. A tin drinking-can. A telescope. A sheet for burning tinder.

#### AMMUNITION OF WAR.

Four muskets. One short and one long firelock. A barrel of lunt and shot. A barrel of gunpowder. A powder-horn. - Two pounds of shot for the long firelock. A pound of small-shot.

Six psalm books. A Testament. A house postil. A book for keeping a diary. A bundle of pens. A cannikin of ink. Three quires of paper. Two almanacs.

#### WHAT EACH OF THE COMMANDERS LEFT US AT THEIR DEPARTURE.

##### *Amsterdam.*

Two hogsheads of rye-meal. A cask of good beer. A smoked ham. Half a pound of pepper.

##### *Delft.*

Two stoops of olive oil. A four-hour glass. An axe. Two-thirds of a cask of butter-milk.

##### *Enckhuysen.*

The fourth of an anker of French wine. Two stoops of olive oil. A beer glass. A wine cup.

##### *Middelburgh.*

Two stoops of oil. Two and a-half pounds of sole-leather. Three chickens. A barrel of barley.

##### *Flushing.*

A shoulder of pork. Six salt codfish.

WHAT WE HAD LEFT ON THE ARRIVAL OF THE  
SHIPS.

Three kegs of mustard seed. A few pieces of meat. Three or four pieces of bacon. One and a-half barrel of salt. A portion of oil. Seventeen cheeses. Six and a-half firkins of bread. Two firkins and a sixth of white peas. Two firkins of oatmeal. Three firkins of stockfish. Five or six stoops of brandy. Two fathoms of tobacco. A little spice of all kinds. A portion of salad. Some pieces of reindeer flesh to be dealt out amongst the fleet.

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The length of the dwelling tent was twenty-one feet, its breadth sixteen, its height from the ground to the first floor seven feet and a-half, constructed on the outside with deal boards, and on the inside with bricks to the thickness of half an one; the loft was floored with clay. The magazine at the back of our tent, which we entered by a door, was twelve feet long, as broad and high as the above, and lightly built to the thickness of a board.





## A Short Journal of Seven Other Seamen,

Who, being left in 1634, at Spitsbergen, to  
pass the Winter, died there in 1635.

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**I**N the year 1633, seven persons being left much at the same time, as well at Spitsbergen as in the Isle of St. Maurice, the ships that were sent thither in 1634 had orders from the Greenland Company to release those that had stayed there, and to leave in their room seven others, who should offer their service for that purpose. Accordingly, the following seven were (with their consent) appointed to remain the next following winter at Spitsbergen: Andrew Johnson of Middleburgh, Cornelius Thyse of Rotterdam, Jerome Carcoen of Delfts-Haven, Tiebke Jellis of Friseland, Nicholas Florison of Hoorn, Adrian Johnson of Delft, Fettje Otters of Friseland.

These being provided with all manner of necessaries, as meat, drink, physical preparations, herbs, etc., were left ashore to continue all the winter there, during which time they kept a journal of all remarkable occurrences, the chief whereof I thought only fit to insert here, leaving out the



more unnecessary observations, such as of the wind and weather, etc., to avoid prolixity. The 11th of September, 1634, the ships being sailed thence for Holland, they got sight of abundance of whales, at whom they discharged their guns, but could not take any. They went also in search for green herbs, foxes and bears, but met with none. The 20th or 21st of October, they had no more sight of the sun. The 24th of November, the scurvy beginning to appear among them, they searched very earnestly after green herbs, bears and foxes, but to their great grief could find neither of them ; so they comforted one another with hopes that God would provide for them something or other for their refreshment. The 2nd of December, Nicholas Florison took a dose of a scorbutic potion, and they set some traps to catch foxes. The 11th, Jerome Carcoen took such another potion, and they resolved for the future, every one to eat separately from the other, some being not so much afflicted with the scurvy as the rest. They went often in quest after some refreshments, but meeting with none they recommended themselves to God's providence. The 12th, Cornelius Thyse did likewise take a medicinal potion against the scurvy. The 23rd, as the cook was throwing out some water, he saw a bear just by the hut, but he ran away at the noise, before they could come at their guns. The 24th, they discovered another bear ; three of them advancing towards him, he rose upon his hindermost legs, and being shot through the body by one of our guns, he began to bleed and to roar, and to bite one of our halberts with a great deal of fierceness ; but finding us too hard for him, he betook to his legs. Being excessive eager after some fresh meat (of which we stood in great need for the recovery of our health), we pursued him with lanthorns and candles a great way, but to our sorrow could not overtake him, which made us say to one another, that in case we were not supplied by God's peculiar providence

with some refreshments speedily, the pain we endured must needs kill us before the return of our ships; but God's will be done. The 25th, Cornelius Thyse took another potion against the scurvy, being in a deplorable condition. The 14th of January, Adrian Johnson of Delft died, being the first of the seven, though the other six were full of pain, and very ill. The 15th, Fettje Otters died likewise; and on the 17th, Cornelius Thyse, being the man of all the rest in whom they had put their most hopes next to God. The remaining four were very weak, and had scarce strength left to stand upon their legs, yet they made shift to make coffins for these three, and put their bodies into them. The 28th they saw the first fox, but could not take him. The 7th of February they had the good fortune to take a fox, to their no small satisfaction, though in effect they were too far gone to receive any benefit thereby.

They saw many bears—three or four, nay, sometimes six or ten together—but had not strength enough to manage their guns; or, if they had had, they could not have pursued them, being not in a condition to set one foot before another, nay, not even to bite their biscuits, for they were seized with most cruel pains, especially in their loins and belly, which increased generally with the cold; one did spit blood, and another was afflicted with the bloody-flux. Jerome Carcoen was still something better than the rest, being still able to fetch them some fewel for firing. The 23rd they began to be so weak, they kept close in their cabins [bunks], recommending themselves to God's mercy. The 24th they saw the sun again, which they had not seen since October 20th or 21st in the preceding year. The 26th, being the last day (as we guess) they were able to write, and lived not long after. They left this following memorial behind them: Four of us that are still alive, lie flat upon the ground in our huts; we believe we could still

feed, were there but one among us that could stir out of his hut to get us some fuel, but nobody is able to stir for pain. We spend our time in constant prayers, to implore God's mercy to deliver us out of this misery, being ready when ever He pleases to call us. We are certainly not in a condition to live thus long without food or fire, and cannot assist one another in our mutual afflictions, but must every one bear our own burthen.

When the ships from Holland arrived there in 1635, they found them all dead, shut up close in their tent, to secure their dead bodies against the bears and other ravenous creatures. This being the tent of Middleburgh, a baker who got ashore first, happened to come to the back door, which he broke open, and running up stairs, found there upon the floor part of a dead dog that was laid there to dry; but making the best of his way down again, he trod upon the carcase of another dead dog (for they had two) at the stair-foot in the buttery. From hence passing through another door, towards the fore-door, in order to open it, he stumbled in the dark over the dead bodies of the men, whom they saw (after the door was opened) altogether in the same place, viz. : three in coffins, Nicholas Florison and another each in a cabin, the other two upon some sails upon the floor, with their knees drawn up to their chins. Coffins being ordered to be made for the four that had none, they were buried with the other three under the snow, till the ground becoming more penetrable, they were buried one by another, and certain stones laid upon their graves, to hinder the ravenous beasts from digging up their carcases. These were the last that pretended to pass the winter at Spitsbergen.





## DISPUTES BETWEEN ENGLISH WHALERS.

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THE Muscovy Company of London had an English monopoly for the Spitsbergen whale fishery. In theory, no English ship might go whaling in Spitsbergen waters unless it belonged to, or was chartered by, the Muscovy Company. As a matter of fact, from the very beginning, English interlopers set this monopoly at defiance. Thomas Marmaduke, of Hull, went walrus-hunting at Spitsbergen as early as the London men. An Aldborough interloper, and one from Wapping, are recorded in the early years of the fishery. Matters were complicated very soon by the grant of a Scotch patent to another group. No Scotch ships were sent up, but the Scotch patentees engaged Yarmouth men to fish on their account; and one Hoarth, of Yarmouth, was for many years an opponent of the Muscovy Company under this Scotch patent. Attempts were made by the Privy Council from time to time to accommodate these differences. Sometimes the Hull men were peremptorily forbidden to sail, sometimes Hoarth and the Yarmouth men; or the fishery was to be divided, the Hull men going to Jan Mayen or elsewhere. Such arrangements always fell to the ground, and the old rivalry revived.

To recount all the ins-and-outs of this controversy would be too lengthy a story for this place. I have written it in a "History of Spitsbergen," which I hope to publish some day. The cause of all the trouble was really the soap-makers, who needed train-oil for their manufacture. The soapers of York depended on the Hull whalers. The whalers of Yarmouth supplied the soapers of Scotland. The Muscovy Company wanted to control both the Scotch and York markets. This dispute was really the cause for the decline of the industry of whaling in England. While the Dutch Company kept enlarging its size and taking in more and more partners from maritime towns, the attempt successfully made by the Muscovy Company was to keep competitors out of the trade, whilst also refusing them admission to their own Company. They thus kept down the number of English whalers, whilst the Dutch fleet increased in size, and Dutch whalers improved in efficiency, and grew in numbers from year to year.

The following account, copied by me from a volume of the State Papers in the Record Office, shows how keen was the rivalry between different groups of English in Spitsbergen. While the Dutch were heartily co-operating together in the north of the island, the English were falling on one another in Horn Sound. They had similar disputes in Bell Sound, and did one another no little damage. In 1626, the Hull men utterly destroyed the Muscovy Company's settlement in Bell Sound. A brief account of what happened is preserved in the Muscovy Company's Petition to the Privy Council, presented in November, 1626, whereof the following is an extract<sup>1</sup> :—

"Whereas in May last they provyded and sett forth at their extraordinary charge 12 sayle of good shipps for the

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<sup>1</sup> *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I*, vol. xxxix, November 1-17, 1626. No. 67.



whale fishing under the command of Capt. William Goodlad, who arriving in one of the Harbors called Whalehead<sup>1</sup> with 4 of his shippes and a Pinace, and finding that nine shippes of Yorke and Hull had bin in the said Harbor and thence taken away 8 shallops, burned the caske, broke the coolers, and spoyled all the other materialls fitt for the said fishing, to the overthrow of the voyage, and had demolished the houses and broken downe the fort and Plattforme built the yeare before for defence of the said harbor. The said Capt. Goodlad adressed himself with one shipp and a Pinace unto another harbor neere adioyninge, where the said shippes of Yorke and Hull were at anchor, and in friendly manner sending aboard them to demand by what authoritie they had committed that outrage, and requiring satisfaction of them, they refused the same and prepared to assault him, notwithstanding hee had required it by vertue of his commission, as will more particularly appeare unto your lordships by a Journall thereof made by the said Captain Goodlad."

Unfortunately, this Journal is not discoverable. The Petition further states that Richard Prestwood and Richard Perkins were first and second in command respectively of the York and Hull men.

On November 15th, the Council heard the parties, and, finding the matter complicated, directed the Lord Admiral to institute an enquiry in the Court of Admiralty for examination of witnesses on oath. They also appointed a Committee to consider and report on the whole matter. We need not further pursue the development of this dispute. It dragged on for years. The final failure of the whole English whale-fishery, about the time of the Commonwealth, put an end to the troubles in a manner very unsatisfactory to all parties.

<sup>1</sup> Bell Sound seems to be meant. The "other harbour near adjoining" was Bottle Cove.





A True Relation of the Differences  
in Greenland [Spitsbergen] with the  
Shippes of Yarmouth.<sup>1</sup>



**T**HIS year, 1634, the Muscovia Company Adventurers to Greenland by virtue of their Patent set forth a good flecte of shippes to fish the whale under the comaund of Captaine William Goodlad,<sup>2</sup> fitted and provided in extraordinarie manner, as well for offence as defence; by direction of his Ma'tie and order of the right hon'ble the Lords of his most hon'ble privie Councell, dated the 30th of Aprill, for the reasons there in expressed.

After the shippes were come to Greenland, and appointed to their severall harbors to follow their voyage, Captain Goodlad being at Port Nick<sup>3</sup> with his shippes about the 7th of July, received advice from the shippes at Hornslound<sup>4</sup> that two shippes of Yarmouth, called the *Mayflower* and the *James*, comaunded by William Cave and Thomas Wilkinson, were gott into the harbor there, and had placed

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<sup>1</sup> *State Papers, Domestic, Chas. I*, Oct. 1-19, 1634, vol. cclxxv, No. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Also written Goodlard.

<sup>3</sup> Or Safe Haven in Ice Sound.

<sup>4</sup> Horn Sound.

themselves in the Cove<sup>1</sup> ever possessed by the Company, and put up their tents and kept their shallopps with the companies to look out for whales, and put them by from many whales which they might have killed, tending to overthrowe their voyadge if he did not take some order therein.

Whereupon Captaine Goodlad with his two shippes of warr, as soone as they could gett cleare of the Ice, fitted themselves to goe for Horneslound to be more fully informed thereof, and recovering the harbor about the 31st of July could not gett in with his shippes, they drawing soe much water, but went in by land with some of his cheife men to the Yarmouth shippes, demaunding of William Cave, Wilkinson, and one Seaman, the Principall commanders of the said Yarmouth shippes, by what authority they came into the Companies harbor to disturb their fishing.

Their answer was, they were ordered by their Principalls to fishe in that place, and did shew forth a Patent graunted to one Nathaniell Edwards for the kingdome of Scotland,<sup>2</sup> and with all using ill language towards Capt. Goodlad, saying they expected as much favour from him as from a Turk or Jew.

Whereupon, Capt. Goodlad shewed them his comission under the great seale of England, and the said order of the Lords of his Ma'ties most hon'ble privie Councell, and comaunded them to depart the harbor quietlie.

They answered they did stand upon their Patent, and would maynteyne the harbor with their blood, and did sleight the order of the board as a piece of paper.

Whereupon Capt. Goodlad would have haled up their coppers, but was resisted by Cave, Seaman, and others,

<sup>1</sup> The cove in the south side of Horn Sound.

<sup>2</sup> Granted at Holyrood, 28th July, 1626. See *State Papers, Domestic*, Charles I, vol. xxxiii, No. 52. It was renewed in 1632.

and himselfe like to have bin spoyled with the boyling oyle. Soe finding this ill usage at their hands, within fower houres after brought diverse of his men to recover the harbor from them, but first sent fyve of his cheife men to know their resolucon, whoe could receave no other answer from them but blood, and Cave called Capt. Goodlad theife, whereas he came with the Kings Com'ission as a true man, and with order from the board and the Com'ission of the Companie.

And Cave, having eighty men in armes attending him, hee com'aunded them to fight or loose their wages.

Hee had alsoe placed aboard his shipp within Pistoll shott of Capt. Goodland and his company fyve peeces of great ordnance charged with burr shott and small bulletts, and twenty men to discharge them (upon a watchword or token, and retreat of Cave and his men behinde their coppers) at Capt. Goodlad and his companie, which if it had taken effect would in all likelyhood have spoyled above one hundred men; but it pleased God they were prevented by the misty weather.

Afterwards one of their men falling downe with a shott from our men, the busines was composed by Captaine Goodlad to avoyd further shedding the blood of our countrey men (althoughe hee was provoked beyond measure), and sending his Chirurgion a board of Caves shipp to dresse the man that was hurt, they confessed to the Chirurgion Caves cruell intent and shewed him the burr shot.

They alsoe confessed that 3 men with musketts were sett to kill Captaine Goodlad, and one of them levelled fyve tymes at him; but the peece would not take fire, and Captaine Goodlad was forced to close with him and take away his muskett.

Caves brother alsoe confessed that he did discharge his muskett 4 tymes before Captaine Goodlad came to them,

and every tyme hitt the marke, but presenting his peece fyve tymes at him it would not take fire ; but, after the busines ended, turning his back, with the first touch of the match it went off and hitt the marke, w'h he told to the Chirurgion.

The next day Cave sent againe for the Chirurgion to have a man dressed, and at his coming back from his shipp sent a challenge by him to fight tunne for tunne and man for man.

This wilbee all proved upon oath.

By these proceedings it may appear how bold Hoarth of Yarmouth is against the authority which our Companie have under the great seale of England, and at the least 5 severall orders of the board, etc.

[*Added in another hand*]: Hampton Court, 1634, Oct. 12. H.M.'s pleasure is that Horth and the other Yarmouth men . . . . bee called before the Councel, etc.

Another account of this dispute runs as follows<sup>1</sup> :—

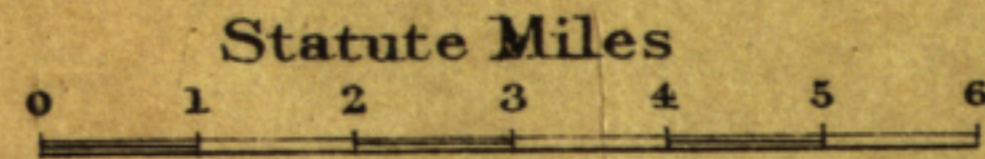
“ Whilst the Scottish ship [the *May Flower*] was employed in their trade, and the men were Boyling their oyle on shore, Capt. Willm. Goodlard of Wapping, imployed by the Greenland Company of London, marches on the shore to them with divers Armed Men, and shot of his owne Pistoll first, and then commanded his men to doe the like, whereupon they shot of their Musketts (haveing no maner of opposition) and kild many of those men wh' went forth in the shipp aforesaid under the Scottish Commission. Amongst the men that was then slain Richard Collidg was then and there most Barbourously and Cruelly Murthered.”

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers, Domestic*, Charles I 1643, vol. cccxcix, No. 47.





N. W. CORNER OF  
**SPITSBERGEN**





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12. Journal of a Voyage in Tibet. By Fra Cassiano Beligatti, from the Macerata MS. Translated & Edited by PROF. R. NORTON.

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- 1896 Conway, Sir William Martin, M.A., F.S.A., The Red House, Hornton Street, W.
- 1903 Cooke, William Charles, Esq., Vailima, Bishopstown, Cork.
- Copenhagen Royal Library (Det Store Kongelige Bibliothek) Copenhagen (Dr. H. O. Lange, Chief Librarian).
- 1894 Cora, Professor Guido, M.A., Via Goito, 2, Rome. ☉
- Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, U.S.A. (Geo. Wm. Harris Esq., Librarian).
- 1904 Corney, Bolton Glanvill, Esq., I.S.O., M.D., Suva, Fiji.
- Corning, C. R., Esq. } c/o Messrs. Bickers & Son, 1, Leicester Square, W.  
 Corning, H. K., Esq. }
- 1894 Cortissoz, Royal, Esq., Editorial Room, *New York Tribune*, 154, Nassau Street, New York City, U.S.A.
- 1893 Cow, John, Esq., Elfinward, Hayward's Heath, Sussex.
- 1902 Cox, Alexander G., Esq., Imperial Railways of North China, Tientsin.
- 1904 Croydon Public Libraries, Central Library, Town Hall, Croydon (L. Stanley Jast Esq., Chief Librarian).
- 1899 Cunningham, Colonel George Glencairn, C.B., D.S.O., Royal Scots, Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W.
- 1893 Curzon of Kedleston, H.E. the Right Hon. Lord, G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., F.R.G.S., Government House, Calcutta.
- Dalton, Rev. Canon John Neale, C.M.G., C.V.O., F.S.A., 4, The Cloisters, Windsor.
- 1899 Dampier, Gerald Robert, Esq., I.C.S., Dehra Dun, N.W.P., India.
- Danish Royal Naval Library (Det Kongelige Danske Søkaart Archiv), Copenhagen (Dr. G. I. Colm, Librarian).
- Davis, Hon. Nicholas Darnell, C.M.G., Georgetown, Demerara, British Guiana.
- 1894 De Bertodano, Baldomero Hyacinth, Esq., 22, Chester Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.
- Derby, The Right Hon. the Earl of, K.G., c/o Rev. J. Richardson, Knowsley, Prescott.
- Detroit Public Library, Michigan, U.S.A. (Henry M. Utley Esq., Librarian).
- 1893 Dijon University Library, Rue Monge, Dijon, Côte d'Or, France (M. Balland, Librarian).
- D'Oléire, Herr (Trübner's Buchhandlung), Am Münster-platz, Strassburg, Alsace.
- Doubleday, Henry Arthur, Esq., F.R.G.S., 2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.
- Dresden Geographical Society (Verein für Erdkunde), Kleine Brüdergasse 211, Dresden—A. 1. (Dr. Otto Mörtzsch, Bibliothekar).

- 1902 Dublin, Trinity College Library (Rev. T. K. Abbott, D.D., Librarian).  
Ducie, The Right Hon. the Earl of, F.R.S., F.R.G.S., Tortworth Court, Falfield.
- 1903 Eames, James Bromley, Esq., M.A., B.C.L., 1, King's Bench Walk, Temple, E.C.  
Eames, Wilberforce, Esq., Lenox Library, 890, Fifth Avenue, New York  
City, U.S.A.
- 1899 École Française d'Extrême Orient, Saigon, Indo-Chine Française.
- 1892 Edinburgh Public Library, George IV. Bridge, Edinburgh (Hew Morrison  
Esq., Librarian).  
Edinburgh University Library, Edinburgh (Alex. Anderson Esq., Librarian).
- 1904 Edmonds, The Rev. Canon Walter John, B.D., The Close, Exeter.  
Edwards, Francis, Esq., 83, High Street, Marylebone, W.
- Faber, Reginald Stanley, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., 90, Regent's Park Road, N.W.
- 1894 Fanshawe, Admiral Sir Edward Gennys, G.C.B., F.R.G.S., 74, Cromwell  
Road, S.W.
- Fellowes Athenæum, 46, Millmont Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
- 1899 Ferguson, David, Esq., M.I.M.E., F.R.G.S., 140, Hyndland Drive, Kelvinside,  
Glasgow.
- 1899 Ferguson, Donald William, Esq., Samanala, 20, Beech House Road, Croydon.
- 1894 Fisher, Arthur, Esq., F.R.G.S., St. Aubyn's, Tiverton, Devon.
- 1896 Fitzgerald, Captain Edward Arthur, 5th Dragoon Guards.
- 1904 Flanagan, Hugh William, Esq., B.E., B.A., Yorkville, Summer Hill, Cork.
- Ford, John Walker, Esq., D.L., F.S.A., Enfield Old Park, Winchmore Hill, N.
- Foreign Office, The, Downing Street, S.W. (Augustus Henry Oakes Esq., C.B.,  
Librarian).
- Foreign Office of Germany (Auswärtiges Amt), Wilhelmstrasse, Berlin, W.
- 1893 Forrest, George William, Esq., C.I.E., F.R.G.S., Rose Bank, Ifley, Oxford.
- 1902 Foster, F. Aphorp, Esq., 28, State Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
- 1893 Foster, William, Esq., B.A., F.R.G.S., Registry and Record Department, India  
Office, S.W.
- 1899 Fothergill, M. B., Esq., c/o Imperial Bank of Persia, Bushire, Persian Gulf,  
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- 1899 French, H. B., Esq., 429, Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
- George, Charles William, Esq., 51, Hampton Road, Bristol.
- Gill, Joseph Withers, Esq., F.R.G.S., 66, West Hill, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
- 1901 Gill, W. Harrison, Esq., c/o Messrs. C. A. & H. Nichols, Peninsular House,  
Monument Street, E.C.
- Gladstone Library, National Liberal Club, Whitehall Place, S.W.
- Glasgow University Library, Glasgow (James Lymburn Esq., Librarian).
- Godman, Frederick Du Cane, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.,  
10, Chandos Street, Cavendish Square, W.
- 1897 Gosch, Christian Carl August, Esq., 21, Stanhope Gardens, S.W.
- 1899 Gosling, F. Goodwin, Esq., Hamilton, Bermuda.
- 1893 Gosset, General Mathew William Edward, C.B., F.R.G.S., Westgate House,  
Dedham, Essex.
- Göttingen University Library, Göttingen, Germany (Prof. Dr. Richard  
Pietschmann, Director).
- 1900 Graham, Michael, Esq., *Glasgow Herald*, 69, Buchanan Street, Glasgow.
- Grant-Duff, Right Hon. Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone, G.C.S.I., F.R.S.,  
11, Chelsea Embankment, S.W.
- Gray, Albert, Esq., F.R.G.S., Catherine Lodge, Trafalgar Square, Chelsea, S.W.
- 1894 Gray, Matthew Hamilton, Esq., F.R.G.S., Lessness Park, Abbey Wood, Kent.
- 1903 Greenlee, William B., Esq., 95, Buena Avenue, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
- 1898 Greever, C. O., Esq., 1345, East Ninth Street, Des Moines, Iowa, U.S.A.
- 1899 Griffiths, John G., Esq., 21, Palace Court, Kensington Gardens, W.

- Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, N.Y., U.S.A. (E. P. Van Duzell Esq., Librarian).
- 1899 Gruzevski, C. L., Esq., 107, College Street, San Antonio, Texas, U.S.A.
- Guildhall Library, E.C. (Charles Welch Esq., F.S.A., Librarian).
- 1894 Guillemard, Arthur George, Esq., 96, High Street, Eltham, Kent.
- Guillemard, Francis Henry Hill, Esq., M.A., M.D., F.R.G.S., The Old Mill House, Trumpington, Cambridge.
- Hamburg Commerz-Bibliothek, Hamburg, Germany (Dr. Baasch, Librarian).
- 1901 Hammersmith Public Libraries, Ravenscourt Park, W. (Samuel Martin Esq., Chief Librarian).
- 1900 Hamilton, Wm. Pierson, Esq., 32, East 36th Street, New York City, U.S.A.
- 1898 Hannen, The Hon. Henry Arthur, The Hall, West Farleigh, Kent.
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- Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A. (Wm. Coolidge Lane Esq., Chief Librarian).
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- Hawkesbury, The Rt. Hon. Lord, F.S.A., F.R.G.S., 2, Carlton House Terrace, S.W.
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- 1899 Heidelberg University Library, Heidelberg (Prof. Karl Zangemeister, Librarian).
- 1904 Henderson, George, Esq., c/o Messrs. Octavius Steel and Co., 14, Old Court House Street, Calcutta.
- 1903 Henderson, Turner, Esq., F.R.G.S., Studley Priory, Oxford.
- Hervey, Dudley Francis Amelius, Esq., C.M.G., F.R.G.S., Westfields, Aldeburgh, Suffolk.
- Hiersemann, Herr Karl Wilhelm, Königsstrasse, 3, Leipzig.
- 1902 Hippisley, Alfred Edward, Esq., F.R.G.S., I.M. Customs, Shanghai, China.
- 1893 Hobhouse, Charles Edward Henry, Esq., M.P., The Ridge, Corsham, Wilts.
- 1904 Holdich, Colonel Sir Thomas Hungerford, C.B., K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., R.E. F.R.G.S., 41, Courtfield Road, S.W.
- 1899 Hoover, Herbert C., Esq., 39, Hyde Park Gate, S.W.
- Horner, John Francis Fortescue, Esq., Mells Park, Frome, Somerset.
- Hoyt Public Library, East Saginaw, Mich., U.S.A. (Miss Ames, Librarian).
- 1896 Hubbard, Hon. Gardiner G., 1328, Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
- 1899 Hügel, Baron Anatole A. A. von, F.R.G.S., Curator, Museum of Archæology and Ethnology, Cambridge.
- 1894 Hull Public Libraries, Baker Street, Hull (W. F. Lawton Esq., Librarian).
- Hull Subscription Library, Albion Street, Hull (William Andrews Esq., Librarian).
- 1899 Im Thurn, H. E. Everard Ferdinand, Esq., C.B., C.M.G., Government House, Suva, Fiji, and 1, East India Avenue, E.C.
- India Office, Downing Street, S.W. (Frederick W. Thomas Esq., Librarian). [20 COPIES.]
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- 1892 Inner Temple, Hon. Society of the, Temple, E.C. (J. E. L. Pickering Esq., Librarian).
- 1899 Ireland, Prof. Alleyne, St. Botolph Club, 2, Newbury Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
- 1903 Irvine, William, Esq., Holliscroft, 49, Castelnau, Barnes, S.W.
- 1899 Jackson, Stewart Douglas, Esq., 61, St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.
- 1898 James, Arthur Curtiss, Esq., 92 Park Avenue, New York City, U.S.A.
- 1896 James, Walter B., Esq., M.D., 17, West 54th Street, New York City, U.S.A.

- John Carter Brown Library, 357, Benefit Street, Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A. (George Parker Winship, Esq., Librarian).
- John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Manchester (H. Guppy Esq., Librarian).
- Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A. (N. Murray Esq., Librarian).
- Johnson, General Sir Allen Bayard, K.C.B., 60, Lexham Gardens, Cromwell Road, S.W.
- 1899 Johnson, Rev. Samuel Jenkins, F.R.A.S., Melplash Vicarage, Bridport.
- 1903 Johnson, W. Morton, Esq., Woodleigh, Altrincham.
- 1903 Kansas University Library, Lawrence, Kans., U.S.A. (Miss Carrie M. Watson, Librarian).
- Keltie, John Scott, Esq., LL.D., Secretary R.G.S., 1, Savile Row, Burlington Gardens, W.
- Kelvin, The Rt. Hon. Lord, F.R.S., LL.D., Netherhall, Largs, Ayrshire.
- 1899 Kiel, Royal University of, Kiel, Schleswig-Holstein (Geb. Reg. Rath., Emil Steffenhagen, Director).
- Kimberley Public Library, Kimberley, Cape Colony (Hon. Mr. Justice Lawrence, Librarian).
- 1898 Kinder, Claude William Esq., C.M.G., Imperial Chinese Railways, Tientsin, North China.
- King's Inns, The Hon. Society of the, Henrietta Street, Dublin (Joseph J. Carton Esq., Librarian).
- 1899 Kitching, John, Esq., F.R.G.S., Oaklands, Queen's Road, Kingston Hill, S.W.
- Klincksieck, M. Charles, 11, Rue de Lille, Paris.
- 1900 Langton, J. J. P., Esq., 802, Spruce Street, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.
- 1900 Larchmont Yacht Club, Larchmont, N.Y., U.S.A. (F. D. Shaw Esq., Chairman of Library Committee).
- 1898 Laechman, Carey B., Esq., 10, Earl's Court Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.
- Leeds Library, 18, Commercial Street, Leeds (D. A. Cruse Esq., Librarian).
- Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa., U.S.A. (W. H. Chandler Esq., Director).
- 1893 Leipzig, Library of the University of, Leipzig (Prof. Oskar Leop. v. Gebhardt, Direktor).
- 1899 Levy, Judah, Esq., 17, Greville Place, N.W.
- 1902 Linney, Albert G., Esq., Bootham School, 51, Bootham, York.
- Liverpool Free Public Library, William Brown Street, Liverpool (Peter Cowell Esq., Librarian)
- 1896 Liverpool Geographical Society 14, Hargreaves Buildings, Chapel Street, Liverpool (Capt. E. C. D. Phillips, R.N., Secretary).
- Loescher, Messrs. J., and Co., Corso Umberto I°, 307, Rome.
- Logan, William, Esq., Heatheryhaugh, Moffat, Dumfriesshire.
- 1847 London Institution, 11, Finsbury Circus, E.C. (F. Hovenden Esq., Librarian).
- London Library, 12, St. James's Square, S.W. (C. T. H. Wright Esq., Librarian).
- 1895 Long Island Historical Society, Pierrepont Street, Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A. (Miss Emma Toedteberg, Librarian).
- 1899 Los Angeles Public Library, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
- 1899 Lowrey, Joseph, Esq., F.R.G.S., The Hermitage, Loughton, Essex.
- 1899 Lubetsky, S. A. S. le Prince Droutsokoy, 89, Rue Miromesnil, Paris.
- Lucas, Charles Prestwood, Esq., C.B., Colonial Office, Downing Street, S.W.
- 1895 Lucas, Frederic Wm., Esq., S. Swithin's, 169, Trinity Road, Upper Tooting, S.W.
- 1898 Lydenberg, H. M., Esq., New York Public Library, 890, Fifth Avenue, New York, U.S.A.
- Lyons University Library, Lyon, France (M. le Professeur Dreyfus, Chief Librarian).
- 1899 Lyttleton-Annesley, Lieut.-General Sir Arthur Lyttelton, K.C.V.O., F.R.G.S., Templemere, Oatlands Park, Weybridge.



- 1899 MacLehose, James John, Esq., M.A., 7, University Gardens, Glasgow.  
Macmillan and Bowes, Messrs., 1, Trinity Street, Cambridge.
- 1899 Macqueen, John, Esq., St. Mary's, Harpenden.
- 1899 Macrae, Charles Colin, Esq., F.R.G.S., 93, Onslow Gardens, S.W.
- 1904 Malvern Public Library, Graham Road, Great Malvern (Miss M. Lucy, Librarian).  
Manchester Public Free Libraries, King Street, Manchester (C. W. Sutton Esq., Librarian).  
Manierre, George, Esq., 184, La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
- 1898 Margesson, Commander Wentworth Henry Davies, R.N. (H.M.S. "Good Hope," Cruiser Squadron), Finden Place, Worthing.
- Markham, Admiral Sir Albert Hastings, K.C.B., F.R.G.S., 73, Cromwell Road, S.W.  
Markham, Sir Clements Robert, K.C.B., F.R.S., F.S.A., Pres. R.G.S., 21, Eccleston Square, S.W.
- 1892 Marquand, Henry, Esq., Whitegates Farm, Bedford, New York, U.S.A.
- 1899 Martelli, Ernest Wynne, Esq., F.R.G.S., 4, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.  
Massachusetts Historical Society, 1154, Boylston Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A. (Samuel A. Green Esq., LL.D., Librarian).
- 1899 Massie, Major Roger Henry, R.A., D.A.Q.M.G., Army Head Quarters, Pretoria, South Africa.
- 1898 Mathers, Edward Peter, Esq., F.R.G.S., 6, Queen's Gate Terrace, S.W.  
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McClurg, Messrs. A. C., & Co., 215-221, Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
- 1899 McKerrow, Ronald Brunlees, Esq., 30, Manchester Street, W.
- 1896 Mecredy, Jas., Esq., M.A., B.L., F.R.G.S., Wynberg, Blackrock, co. Dublin.
- 1901 Merriman, J. A., Esq., c/o Standard Bank of South Africa, Ltd., Durban, Natal.
- 1899 Michell, Sir Lewis L., Rhodes' Building, Cape Town, South Africa.
- 1893 Michigan, University of, Ann Arbor, Mich., U.S.A. (Raymond C. Davis Esq., Librarian).
- 1896 Milwaukee Public Library, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, U.S.A. (Dr. George W. Peckham, Librarian).
- 1895 Minneapolis Athenæum, Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A. (Miss Jessie McMillan, Librarian).
- 1899 Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota, U.S.A.  
Mitchell Library, 21, Miller Street, Glasgow (Francis T. Barrett Esq., Librarian).
- 1898 Mitchell, Alfred, Esq., New London, Conn., U.S.A.  
Mitchell, Wm., Esq., c/o Union Bank of Scotland, Holburn Branch, Aberdeen.
- 1902 Mombasa Club, Mombasa, East Africa.
- 1899 Monson, The Right Hon. Lord, C.V.O., Burton Hall, Lincoln.
- 1901 Moreno, Dr. Francisco J., La Plata Museum, La Plata, Argentine Republic.
- Morgan, Edward Delmar, Esq., 15, Roland Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.
- 1893 Morris, Henry Cecil Low, Esq., M.D., F.R.G.S., Gothic Cottage, Bognor, Sussex.
- 1896 Morris, Mowbray, Esq., 59A, Brook Street, Grosvenor Square, W.
- 1900 Morrison, George Ernest, Esq., M.D., F.R.G.S., *Times* Correspondent, c/o H.B.M. Legation, Peking.
- 1899 Morrisson, James W., Esq., 200-206, Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
- 1896 Moxon, Alfred Edward, Esq., F.R.G.S., c/o Mrs. Gough, The Lodge, Souldern, near Banbury.
- 1899 Mukhopadhyay, The Hon. Dr. Asutosh, M.A., LL.D., 77, Russa Road North, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.  
Munich Royal Library (Kgl. Hof-u. Staats-Bibliothek), Munich, Germany (Königl. Geheimrath Dr. von Laubmann, Director).
- 1901 Murray, Hon. Charles Gideon, Brooks's, St. James's Street, S.W.

Nathan, H. E. Major Sir Matthew, K.C.M.G., R.E., F.R.G.S., 11, Pembroke Square, W., and Government House, Hong Kong.



- 1894 Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W.  
 Netherlands, Royal Geographical Society of the (Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap), Singel 421, Amsterdam (J. Yzermann Esq., Bibliothecaris.)  
 Newberry Library, The, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A. (John Vance Cheney, Esq., Librarian).  
 Newcastle-upon-Tyne Literary and Philosophical Society, Westgate Road, Newcastle on-Tyne.  
 Newcastle-upon-Tyne Public Library, New Bridge Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne (Basil Anderton Esq., B.A., Chief Librarian).
- 1894 New London Public Library, Conn., U.S.A.  
 New South Wales, Public Library of, Sydney, N.S.W. (Henry C. L. Anderson, M.A., Principal Librarian).
- 1899 New York Athletic Club, Central Park, South, New York City, U.S.A. (John C. Gulick Esq., chairman of Library Committee).
- 1895 New York Public Library, 40, Lafayette Place, New York City, U.S.A. (Dr. John S. Billings, Director).  
 New York State Library, Albany, New York, U.S.A. (Melvil Dewey Esq., Director).
- 1894 New York Yacht Club (Library Committee), 67, Madison Avenue, New York City, U.S.A.
- 1897 New Zealand, Agent-General for (Hon. William Pember Reeves), 13, Victoria Street, S.W.  
 Nijhoff, M. Martinus, Nobelstrat, 18, The Hague.
- 1896 North Adams Public Library, Massachusetts, U.S.A.  
 Northbrook, The Right Hon. the Earl of, G.C.S.I., F.R.S., F.R.G.S., Stratton, Micheldever Station.  
 Northumberland, His Grace the Duke of, K.G., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., c/o J. C. Hodgson Esq., Alnwick Castle.
- 1899 Nottingham Public Library, Sherwood Street, Nottingham (J. P. Briscoe Esq., Librarian).
- 1898 Omaha Public Library, 19th and Harney Streets, Omaha, Nebraska, U.S.A. (Miss Edith Tobitt, Librarian).  
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- 1902 Otani, Kozui, Esq., F.R.G.S., Nishi Honganji, Horikawa, Kyoto, Japan.  
 Oxford Union Society, Oxford (The Chief Librarian).
- 1902 Palmella, His Grace the Duke of, Lisbon.  
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- 1899 Parish, Frank, Esq., 5, Gloucester Square, Hyde Park, W.
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- 1902 Parry, Commander John Franklin, R.N., H.M.S. "Egeria," Esquimaux, British Columbia.
- 1898 Payne, Edward John, Esq., F.R.G.S., 2, Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.  
 Peabody Institute, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A. (Philip Reese Uhler Esq., Librarian).  
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- 1896 Peech, W. H., Esq., St. Stephen's Club, Westminster, S.W.
- 1893 Peek, Sir Wilfred, Bart., c/o Mr. Grover, Rousdon, Lyme Regis.
- 1899 Peixoto, Dr. J. Rodrigues, 8, Rue Almte. Comandaré, Rio de Janeiro.
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- Poor, Henry William, Esq., 1, Lexington Avenue, New York City, U.S.A.
- Portico Library, 57, Mosley Street, Manchester (Ernest Marriott Esq., Librarian).
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- 1899 Reggio, André C., Esq., 43, Tremont Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
- 1895 Rhodes, Josiah, Esq., The Elms, Lytham, Lancashire.
- Richards, Admiral of the Fleet Sir Frederick William, G.C.B., F.R.G.S., 34, Hurlingham Court, S.W.
- Riggs, E. F., Esq., 1311, Mass. Avenue, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
- 1896 Ringwalt, John S., Jun., Esq., Lock Box 147, Mt. Vernon, Knox County, Ohio, U.S.A.
- 1892 Rittenhouse Club, 1811, Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A. (Carroll Smythe-Esq., Secretary, Library Committee).
- Rockhill, the Hon. William Woodville, International Bureau of American Republics, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
- 1899 Rodd, Sir James Rennell, C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.G.S., British Embassy, Rome.
- 1898 Röhrscheid and Ebbecke, Herrn, Strauss'sche Buchhandlung, Bonn, Germany.
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- Royal Colonial Institute, Northumberland Avenue, W.C. (James R. Boosé Esq., Librarian).
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- 1897 Royal Societies Club, 63, St. James's Street, S.W. (D. Lewis-Poole Esq., Hon. Secretary).
- Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W.
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- 1902 Sanborn, George P., Esq., 29, Wall Street, Drexel Building, New York City, U.S.A.

- 1899 Sanford, Charles Henry, Esq., F.R.G.S., 102, Eaton Square, S.W.
- 1900 San Francisco Public Library, San Francisco, Cal., U.S.A. (G. T. Clark Esq., Librarian).
- Satow, H. E. Sir Ernest Mason, K.C.M.G., F.R.G.S., British Legation, Peking.
- 1896 Saunders, Howard, Esq., F.R.G.S., 7, Radnor Place, Hyde Park, W.
- 1899 Sclater, Dr. William Lutley, South African Museum, Cape Town, S. Africa.
- 1899 Seattle Public Library, Seattle, Washington, U.S.A. (C. Wesley Smith Esq., Librarian).
- 1894 Seymour, Admiral Sir Edward Hobart, G.C.B., O.M., F.R.G.S., 9, Ovington Square, S.W.
- 1898 Sheffield Free Public Libraries, Surrey Street, Sheffield (Samuel Smith Esq., Librarian).
- 1899 Shields, Cuthbert, Esq., Corpus Christi College, Oxford.
- Signet Library, 11, Parliament Square, Edinburgh (A. G. Main Esq., Librarian).
- Silver, Stephen William, Esq., F.R.G.S., 3, York Gate, Regent's Park, N.W.
- Sinclair, Mrs. W. Frederic, 102, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, S.W.
- 1899 Smith, Frederick Alexander, Esq., 10, Cumberland Mansions, Bryanston Square, W.
- 1896 Smithers, F. Oldershaw, Esq., F.R.G.S., Dashwood House, 9, New Broad Street, E.C.
- 1899 Sneddon, George T., Esq., 8, Merry Street, Motherwell, Lanarkshire.
- 1899 Società Geografica Italiana, Via del Plebiscito 102, Rome.
- Société de Géographie, Boulevard St. Germain, 184, Paris (M. le Baron Hulot, Secrétaire Général).
- 1899 Soulsby, Basil Harrington, Esq., B.A., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., Map Department, British Museum, W.C., and 3, Spring Gardens, S.W.
- 1899 South African Public Library, Cape Town, South Africa.
- 1890 Southam, Herbert Robert Henry, Esq., F.S.A., Innellan, Sutton Road, Shrewsbury.
- 1896 Springfield City Library Association, Mass., U.S.A. (Hiller C. Wellman Esq., Librarian).
- 1894 Stairs, James W., Esq., c/o Messrs. Stairs, Son and Morrow, Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- 1894 Stephens, Henry Charles, Esq., F.R.G.S., Cholderton Lodge, Cholderton Salisbury.
- 1893 Stevens, Son, and Stiles, Messrs. Henry, 39, Great Russell Street, W.C.
- Stockholm, Royal Library of (Kongl. Biblioteket), Sweden (Dr. Erik Wilhelm Dahlgren, Librarian).
- 1895 Stockton Public Library, Stockton, Cal., U.S.A. (W. F. Cloudsley Esq., Librarian).
- Strachey, Lady, 69, Lancaster-gate, Hyde Park, W.
- 1894 Stringer, George Alfred, Esq., 248, Georgia Street, Buffalo, N.Y., U.S.A.
- Stubbs, Captain Edward, R.N., 13, Greenfield Road, Stoneycroft, Liverpool.
- 1904 Suarez, Colonel Don Pedro (Bolivian Legation), Santa Cruz, 74, Compayne Gardens, N.W.
- 1899 Sykes, Major Percy Molesworth, C.M.G., F.R.G.S., Queen's Bays, H.M.'s Consul, Kerman, Persia, *via* Teheran.
- 1900 Tangye, Richard Trevithick Gilbert, Esq., LL.B., 16, Tite Street, Chelsea, S.W.
- 1897 Tate, G. P., Esq., F.R.G.S., Survey of India Department, India.
- 1894 Taylor, Captain William Robert, F.R.G.S., 1, Daysbrook Road, Streatham Hill, S.W.
- Temple, Lieut.-Col. Sir Richard Carnac, Bart., C.I.E., F.R.G.S., The Nash, Worcester, and Naval and Military Club, S.W.
- 1894 Thomson, Basil Home, Esq., Governor's House, H.M.'s Prison, Princetown, S. Devon.
- 1896 Tighe, Walter Stuart, Esq., Coolmoney, Stratford-on-Slaney, Co. Wicklow.
- Toronto Public Library, Toronto, Ont., Canada (James Bain Esq., Librarian).
- Toronto University, Toronto, Ont., Canada (H. H. Langton Esq., Librarian).

- Travellers' Club, 106, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1900 Trinder, Arnold, Esq., F.R.G.S., The Hollies, Rydens Road, Walton-on-Thames.
- Trinder, Henry William, Esq., F.R.G.S., Northbrook House, Bishops Waltham, Hants.
- Trinder, Oliver Jones, Esq., Cedar Grange, Caterham Valley, Surrey.
- Trinity College, Cambridge.
- Trinity House, The Hon. Corporation of, Tower Hill, E.C. (H. S. Liesching Esq., Librarian).
- 1894 Troop, W. H., Esq., c/o Messrs. Black Bros. and Co., Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- Trotter, Coutts, Esq., F.R.G.S., 10, Randolph Crescent, Edinburgh.
- Turnbull, Alexander H., Esq., F.R.G.S., Elibank, Wellington, New Zealand, and c/o Messrs. A. L. Elder and Co., Ltd., 7, St. Helen's Place, E.C.
- 1902 Tweedy, Arthur H., Esq., Widmore Lodge, Widmore, Bromley, Kent.
- United States Congress, Library of, Washington, D.C., U.S.A. (Herbert Putnam Esq., Librarian).
- 1899 United States National Museum (Library of), Washington, D.C. U.S.A. (Cyrus Adler Esq., Librarian).
- United States Naval Academy Library, Annapolis, Md., U.S.A. (Prof. Arthur Newton Brown, Librarian).
- University of London, Imperial Institute, S.W.
- Upsala University Library, Upsala, Sweden (Dr. Olof Annerstedt, Librarian).
- 1896 Van Raalte, Charles, Esq., Brownsea Island, Poole, Dorset.
- 1904 Vassall, Henry, Esq., The Priory, Repton, Burton-on-Trent.
- 1900 Vernon, Roland Venables, Esq., Colonial Office, Downing Street, S.W.
- Victoria, Public Library, Museums, and National Gallery of, Melbourne, Australia (E. La T. Armstrong Esq., Chief Librarian).
- Vienna Imperial Library (K. K. Hof-Bibliothek), Vienna (Dr. Hofrath Josef Karabacek, Chief Librarian).
- Vignaud, Henry, Esq., Ambassade des États Unis, 18, Avenue Kléber, Paris.
- 1902 War Office, Mobilisation and Intelligence Library, Winchester House, St. James's Square, S.W. (F. J. Hudleston Esq., Librarian).
- 1894 Warren, William R., Esq., 68, William Street, New York City, U.S.A.
- Washington, Department of State, D.C., U.S.A. (Andrew Hussey Allen Esq., Chief of Bureau of Rolls).
- Washington, Library of Navy Department, Washington, D.C., U.S.A. (Superintendent of Naval War Records).
- Watkinson Library, Hartford, Connecticut, U.S.A. (Frank B. Gay Esq., Librarian).
- 1892 Webster, Sir Augustus Frederick Walpole Edward, Bart., Battle Abbey, Sussex.
- 1899 Weld, Rev. George Francis, Hingham, Mass., U.S.A.
- 1903 Wells, Professor David Collins, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., U.S.A.
- 1899 Westaway, Engineer Commander Albert Ernest Luscombe, H.M.S. "Majestic," Flagship, Mediterranean Squadron.
- 1898 Westminster School (Rev. G. H. Nall, M.A., Librarian) Dean's Yard, S.W.
- Wharton, Rear-Admiral Sir William James Lloyd, K.C.B., F.R.S., F.R.G.S., Florys, Princes Road, Wimbledon Park, S.W.
- 1900 White, Dr. Henry, F.R.G.S., English Mission Hospital, Yezd, Persia. *via* Berlin.
- 1893 Whiteway, Richard Stephen, Esq., Brownscombe, Shottermill, Surrey.
- 1896 Wildy, Augustus George, Esq., F.R.G.S., 14, Buckingham Street, W.C.
- 1899 Williams, O. W., Esq., Fort Stockton, Texas, U.S.A.
- 1899 Wilmanns, Frederick M., Esq., 89, Oneida Street, Milwaukee, Wisc., U.S.A.

- Wilson, Edward Shimells, Esq., F.S.A., Melton Grange, Brough, East Yorkshire.
- 1895 Wisconsin, State Historical Society of, Madison, Wisc., U.S.A. (Isaac S. Bradley Esq., Librarian).
- 1900 Woodford, Charles Morris, Esq., F.R.G.S., Government Residence, Tulagi, British Solomon Islands.  
Worcester, Massachusetts, Free Library, Worcester, Mass., U.S.A. (Samuel S. Green Esq., Librarian).
- 1900 Wright, John, Esq., 2, Challoner Terrace West, South Shields.
- 1899 Wyndham, The Right Hon. George, M.P., 35, Park Lane, W.  
Yale University, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A. (Addison Van Name Esq., Librarian).
- 1894 Young, Alfales, Esq., Salt Lake City, Utah, U.S.A.  
Young, Sir Allen William, C.V.O., C.B., F.R.G.S., 18, Grafton Street, Bond Street, W.
- 1894 Young & Sons, Messrs. Henry, 12, South Castle Street, Liverpool.
- Zürich, Stadtbibliothek, Zürich, Switzerland (Dr. Hermann Escher, Chief Librarian).



## LIST OF MEMBERS' AGENTS.—1904.

- Messrs. Edward G. Allen and Son, Ltd., 28, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, W.C.  
 Brooklyn Mercantile Library.  
 Canada, The Parliament Library, Ottawa.  
 Cornell University Library.  
 Johns Hopkins University Library.  
 Peabody Institute, Baltimore.  
 Philadelphia, Library Company of.  
 United States, Congress Library.  
 Yale University Library.
- Messrs. A. Asher and Co., 13, Bedford Street, Covent Garden, W.C. and  
 13, Unter den Linden, Berlin, W.  
 Berlin, The Royal Library.  
 Foreign Office of Germany.  
 Kiel Royal University Library.  
 Munich Royal Library.  
 Vienna Imperial Library.
- Mr. James Bain, 14, Charles Street, Haymarket, S.W.  
 Captain Edward Arthur Fitzgerald.  
 John Walker Ford Esq.  
 John Francis Fortescue Horner Esq.
- Messrs. Thos. Bennett and Sons, Carl Johans-Gade 35, Christiania, c/o Messrs.  
 Cassell and Co., Ltd., La Belle Sauvage, Ludgate Hill, E.C.  
 Christiania University Library.
- Messrs. Bickers and Son, 1, Leicester Square, W.  
 C. R. Corning Esq.  
 H. K. Corning Esq.
- Messrs. Black Bros. and Co., Halifax, Nova Scotia.  
 W. H. Troop Esq.
- Mr. H. W. Bryant, Librarian, Portland, Maine, U.S.A.  
 James Phinney Baxter Esq.
- Messrs. C. D. Cazenove and Son, 26, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, W.C.  
 Messrs. C. D. Cazenove and Son.  
 Messrs. A. C. McClurg and Co.  
 Toronto Public Library.  
 Toronto University Library.
- Messrs. Dulau and Co., 37, Soho Square, W.  
 British Museum (Natural History).
- Mr. Francis Edwards, 83, High Street, Marylebone, W.  
 Copenhagen Royal Library.  
 Mr. Francis Edwards.
- Messrs. Eyre and Spottiswoode, 5, Middle New Street, E.C.  
 Admiralty Library. [2 COPIES.]  
 Foreign Office Library.  
 War Office, Intelligence Library.

Monsieur Henri Georg, 36-38, Passage de l'Hôtel-Dieu Lyon, Rhône, France.  
Lyons University Library.

Messrs. Henry Grevel and Co., 33, King Street, Covent Garden, W.C.  
Los Angeles Public Library.

Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W.  
Lieut-Col. Hamilton Bower, 17th Bengal Lancers.  
Gerald Robert Dampier Esq., I.C.S.  
William Logan Esq.

Messrs. Jones and Evans, Ltd., 77, Queen Street, Cheapside, E.C.  
Raffles Library and Museum.

Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., Dryden House,  
43, Gerrard Street, Soho, W.

Adelaide Public Library.  
Boston Athenæum Library.  
Boston Public Library.  
Bowdoin College Library.  
Herr D'Oléire.  
Fellowes Athenæum.  
Heidelberg University Library.  
M. Charles Klincksieck.  
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.  
Paris, Institut de France.  
St. Petersburg University Library.  
Worcester (Mass.) Free Library.

Herr W. H. Kühl, Jägerstrasse 73, Berlin, W., c/o Messrs. Low and Co., Ltd.,  
St. Dunstan's House, Fetter Lane, E.C.

Berlin Geographical Society (Gesellschaft für Erdkunde).  
Berlin University Geographical Institute.

Herr C. J. Lundstrom, Akademische Buchhandlung, Upsala, Sweden.  
Upsala University Library.

Messrs. James MacLehose and Sons, 61, St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.  
Glasgow University Library.

Messrs. Melville and Mullen, 12, Ludgate Square, E.C.  
Victoria Public Library, Museums, and National Gallery.

Mudie's Select Library, Ltd., 30 to 34, New Oxford Street, W.C.  
Pretoria Government Library.

Mr. David Nutt, 57, Long Acre, W.C.  
M. Martinus Nijhoff.

Mr. Young Johnstone Pentland, 38, West Smithfield, E.C.  
Herr Karl Wilhelm Hiersemann.

Mr. Bernard Quaritch, 15, Piccadilly, W.  
Robert C. H. Brock, Esq.  
Columbia University Library.  
C. Goodwin Gosling Esq.  
Larchmont Yacht Club.  
Lehigh University Library.  
Minnesota Historical Society.  
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Messrs. Henry Sotheran and Co., 37, Piccadilly, W., and 140, Strand, W.C.

Hoyt Public Library.  
 Kimberley Public Library.  
 Michigan University Library.  
 New Zealand, The Agent-General for.  
 St. Wladimir University Library.  
 Seattle Public Library.  
 Stockton Public Library, Cal., U.S.A.

Standard Bank of South Africa, Ltd. Durban, Natal.

J. A. Merriman Esq.

Mr. G. E. Stechert, 2, Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C. (New York : 9, East 16th. Street ; Paris : 76, Rue de Rennes ; Leipzig : Hospitalstrasse 10.)

Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh.  
 Columbia University Library.  
 Kansas University Library.  
 Milwaukee Public Library.  
 Minneapolis Athenaeum.  
 New York State Library.  
 Philadelphia Free Library.  
 St. Louis Mercantile Library.  
 San Francisco Public Library.  
 Prof. Daniel Collins Wells.

Messrs. B. F. Stevens and Brown, 4, Trafalgar Square, W.C.

California, University of.  
 Chicago Public Library.  
 Chicago University Library.  
 George Manierre Esq.  
 Newberry Library, Chicago.  
 New York Public Library.  
 United States Naval Academy Library.  
 Washington, Department of State Library.  
 Washington, Navy Department Library.

Mr. James Thin, 54 and 55, South Bridge, Edinburgh.

Edinburgh University Library.

Messrs. Tiffany and Co., 221, Regent Street, W. (New York : Union Square ; Paris : 36 bis, Avenue de l'Opéra.)

Alfred Mitchell Esq.

Messrs. Truslove and Hanson, Ltd., 153, Oxford Street, W.

Public Library of New South Wales.

Union Bank of Scotland, Ltd., Holburn Branch, Aberdeen.

William Mitchell Esq.

Monsieur H. Welter, 4, Rue Bernard Palissy, Paris. (Leipzig : Salomonstrasse 16.) c/o Mr. Quaritch, 15, Piccadilly, W.

Dijon University Library.

Messrs. William Wesley and Son, 28, Essex Street, Strand, W.C.

Leipzig University Library.  
 United States National Museum Library.

